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NOVEMBER 1, 1976

TIME[®]

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as Ford Says?



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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER



SCHICKEL

"LIFE's main business was with our outer reality, with those great events and dominant personalities that shaped our history. Movies—the ones we remember—speak to, and from, an inner reality. They come at us alone in a crowd, whispering to us about what we long to feel or to be."

So begins the three-hour TV production *Life Goes to the Movies*, based on the bestselling picture book, which will be presented at 8 p.m. on Sunday, Oct. 31, on NBC. TIME Contributor and Cinema Critic Richard Schickel has appropriately been cast as writer and coproducer of the show; he was LIFE's cinema critic and resident film historian. Unlike some film anthologies, *L.G.T.T.M.* does not spend all its time gazing in a rearview mirror. "From the beginning," says Schickel, "we set out to accomplish much more than an exercise in nostalgia. Our aim was the same as LIFE's—to reflect actuality as well as art, to show both the inner and the outer realities." That reflection is caught in every segment of the show: newsreels are continually interspersed with cuts from memorable films. Often, as when World War II melodramas are blended with the real thing, the sequences are both striking and moving. Sometimes the results are sheer hilarity. "Throughout the '30s," the narration says, "America's biggest factories were its dream factories." Factual glimpses of that decade are juxtaposed with scene after scene of little Shirley Temple, ever an orphan, lisping and dancing her way into the audience's heart. The moody films of the '40s follow a series of loners down a series of mean streets—an echo of postwar confusion and anxiety. A comic and ultimately sorrowful section is devoted to Marilyn Monroe, following her from screen tests to her last incomplete film, tracing her biography in rare shots with Arthur Miller and Joe DiMaggio. There is also a haunting, overproduced birthday party for John F. Kennedy, where the tardy star is introduced as "the late Marilyn Monroe." Marilyn was the waif Shirley Temple pretended to be—except that her desperation, as *L.G.T.T.M.* shows, was all too real. That kind of realism is also shown in candid scenes of the "Hollywood Ten"—the first men to be blacklisted for leftist sympathies. A happier, realistic segment shows the early Academy Awards, presided over by a brash young newcomer named Bob Hope. Perhaps the show's most comic sequences are the ones that started out to be serious—a parade of insect mutants from post-A-bomb sci-fi epics, Elizabeth Taylor served up like a high-priced entrée in *Cleopatra*, a series of youth-quake teen films (*Teen Age Cave Man* is a typical example) to lure the young back into the moviehouses.

Nor are contemporary stars ignored: Jack Nicholson's unforgettable confrontation with the waitress in *Five Easy Pieces* is longer than the burning-of-Atlanta clip from *Gone With the Wind*.

The narrators cover almost as much history as the films they elucidate. Shirley MacLaine opens the show and shares the narration with Henry Fonda—a 40-year man in Hollywood—and Liza Minnelli. Schickel's script concludes with a memorable valediction: "LIFE—the magazine—(suspended) publishing in 1972. Life—as we live it—goes on. So do the movies."

Ralph P. Davidson

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***National average computed by U.S. government, May, 1976.



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FORUM

Hope and Terror

To the Editors:

The cover painting [Oct. 11] by Bob Peak is eloquent. It seems to capture a suspended moment in an evolving world fraught with terror, illumined with hope.

Arthur R. Botham
Great Barrington, Mass.

The warm amber glow on Mr. Smith's face and its pivotal position suggest the erroneous concept held in Western nations of the great white lord who



brings vision and hope to the faceless, amorphous masses of natives.

Velandy Manohar, M.D.
Boston

How ironic that during the Bicentennial, an American Secretary of State, in collaboration with Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa, should be the catalyst that has forced Prime Minister Ian Smith to bow to world opinion and agree to majority rule in two years time.

The American Indians must sorely regret that there was not a Dr. Kissinger around in 1776!

(Mrs.) Theresa McEneaney Gwyn
Trinidad

America has too many domestic problems to continue Secretary Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy. If the Secretary is hooked on world travel, he should be "shuttlecrafted" to Skylab. Then he can orbit the world every two hours.

Colin E. Aubrey
Baton Rouge, La.

In the face of repeated Marxist guerrilla attacks from neighboring Mozambique, the Rhodesian government has stood fast in its resolve and the Smith regime has remained one of the few in Africa free of Soviet penetration.

If the government of Rhodesia follows through with the Kissinger propos-

al, the possibility of terrorist and so-called liberation groups' mounting offensives could pose a major threat to the free world nations.

Harold R. Moroz
Elmont, N.Y.

If you think the momentum of justice, democracy, majority rule and true African liberation can be stayed by pious, self-serving pronouncements of conversion to "the true faith" made by diplomatic poker players like Kissinger, Callaghan and Ian Smith/John Vorster, you are crazy. More to the point, you are demonstrating to the Third World tunnel vision and psychopathogenic shortsightedness characteristic of a ruling class that is fading from the mainstream of man's historical evolution.

Kwau al-Khifi
The Afro-American Bureau
Washington, D.C.

You made no mention of Donal Lamont, the Roman Catholic Rhodesian bishop. Lamont just received a prison term of ten years for encouraging his medical staff to offer assistance to everyone, black or white.

As Bishop Lamont said: "He who is silent is condemned."

(The Rev.) Raymond J. Richards
Washington, D.C.

Justice, Syrian Style

The gruesome photograph of the bodies of three Palestinian guerrillas [Oct. 11] and the general apathy in response to their summary trial and public hanging bring to mind what might have happened if this had been Israeli, not Syrian justice. Undoubtedly we would have heard cries of outrage from the Third World, accusations of barbarism from Moscow, criticism from Secretary-General Waldheim and perhaps even a muted protest from the Pope.

William Kaplan
Wilmette, Ill.

Perhaps our "civilized" society could learn from the barbaric, not so civilized Syrians their effective and just method of dealing with criminals.

Carla Ampanan
Redondo Beach, Calif.

What a costly error on the part of the unfortunate Palestinian terrorists. Didn't anyone tell them the U.S. is the place to commit a crime? A mere week or so of deliberations, a possible term in jail, then out on bail in no time, ready to kill again.

Cathy Kahn
Los Angeles

Sending a Message

Mexico's President Echeverria in his "Message to America" [Oct. 11] calls for an end to American "open or clandestine intervention in the domestic life of

other countries." At the same time he implores the U.S. to "resolve to use its enormous strength to root out the poverty of millions of people" on an international scale. Should we continue to pay the world's bills, while the recipients of our benefits spit in our face?

Dale Schaetz
Pacific Palisades, Calif.

John Dean Rides Again

Earl Butz's celebrated remarks [Oct. 18] were neither official nor public, but rather made aboard a plane returning from the convention in Kansas City. If a man can't sit with friends over a drink and exchange a few off-color jokes without some opportunist like John Wesley Dean III turning him in, then we had better start worrying about what is happening to private speech in this country.

As a Catholic, I would much prefer to shrug off a few tasteless jokes about the Pope or the church than to interfere with the right of people to express their opinions or views in private.

(Mrs.) Catherine Boyle
Edwardsville, Ill.

I'll tell you what Earl Butz has: a tight mind, a loose tongue and a warm place in his heart for vulgarity.

Stephen C. Listfield
Washington, D.C.

Come on, America! Archie Bunker is a hit and considered funny. A real Archie Bunker shows up and it's dead serious. I thought the double standard was what we were fighting against.

Gwen G. Hays
Baltimore

Earl Butz as Secretary of Agriculture should have known better than anyone else that you reap what you sow.

Harold Jordan
Elsah, Ill.

Watch out, Rona Barrett! John Dean is after your job.

Beth Horton
Randallstown, Md.

Anyone Home?

Bravo! Thank you for your Essay, "A New Idea: Leave the Family at Home" [Oct. 11].

While I am weary of Jerry and Jimmy, I have had it "up to here" with Betty, Rosalynn, Liddy, Joan, Jack, Jeff, Chip, Jack, Aunt Sissy, Miss Lillian (have I forgotten anyone?).

Joanne Geiser
Greensburg, Pa.

Follies of '76

Dole says Carter is weird. Part of Carter's strangeness is his tendency to talk of Jesus in normal conversation as

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FORUM

if Jesus were real, like President Ford
or the family automobile. Heavens! How
could Carter ever fit in?

Frank Belker
St. Louis

I still can't make up my mind. Can
Jimmy dance, or does Jerry sing?

Linda J. Galati
St. Louis

If vicious, venomous, vituperative
Carter is an example of one who has
"taken Christ as his Saviour," I'll take
my chances in hell.

Phyllis Jaquett
Pennsville, N.J.

Deft Sidestep

President Newell of Wellesley deftly
sidesteps any responsibility as a col-
lege administrator for the excessive
number of graduates vis-a-vis appropriate
job opportunities [Oct. 11]. Many in-
stitutions of higher learning are almost
criminal in their behavior, educating
students for fields already overcrowded
instead of discouraging them.

Morton Kanter
Villanova, Pa.

Law-and-Order

The policemen of New York City
should drop the "Benevolent" from their
association's title.

The members of the mob described
in your article [Oct. 11] cannot be ex-
pected to uphold the law they obviously
do not respect.

Kathleen Zeitz
Grissom Air Force Base, Ind.

Rudd on Wry

All the to-do about the comings and
goings on the *Today* show [Oct. 11] galls
me no end.

Those of us who want the news in
the morning, without the peripheral pap
on *Today* and its ABC counterpart, watch
Hughes Rudd on CBS. I like my news
on wry, as Hughes delivers it.

James D. Anderson
San Francisco

Hijackees and Hearst

Your recent article "The Hijackee
Syndrome" [Oct. 4] said that many peo-
ple identify with, and sometimes even
love, their hijackers. Psychiatrist David
G. Hubbard says, "It is as common as
dirt."

If these facts are correct, why do so
many people refuse to believe that Pa-
tricia Hearst could have undergone a
similar experience?

Nancy Pajersky
Dayton

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TIME, NOVEMBER 1, 1976



Artist David Levine's impressions of the campaign, penciled for TIME. Clockwise, Carter carrying own bags, Polish-American children at rally, Carter at black church

TIME MAGAZINE NOVEMBER 1, 1976 Vol. 108, No. 17

TIME

THE CAMPAIGN

AVOIDING A KNOCKOUT

ter, 42% for Ford, with 13% undecided. The Harris-ABC poll had precisely the same pre-debate spread between the two major candidates—45% to 42% for Carter, with 5% for Independent Candidate Eugene McCarthy, 1% for Lester Maddox and 7% undecided. An earlier Gallup sounding gave Carter 47%, Ford 41%, with the rest for other candidates or undecided.

The first round of two respected polls in crucial states also favored Carter. The New York *Daily News* gave the Democrat 53% to Ford's 44%—but Ford's strength is in the suburbs and upstate, where voter turnout is generally heavier than in New York City, where Carter is far ahead. The Chicago *Sun-Times* shows Carter ahead 51.1% to 47.5% in Illinois, but Ford appears to be gaining. Since the prize is still anybody's, neither candidate seems willing to try for a haymaker that could miss—and leave his own jaw fully exposed.

Nowhere was such zero-hour caution more conspicuous than in the Phi Beta Kappa Hall at William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Va. Before the

debate, a White House aide told the President, "The name of the game is not blowing it." Both Ford and Carter did their best to avoid a gaffe, but the result was something less than inspiring. "It was another case of Mr. Ready + Mr. Steady," said California's Republican vice chairman Mike Montgomery. "I score it a negative draw—zero to zero."

The debate probably did not persuade many voters to switch from one candidate to the other. Most surveys, however, gave Carter the edge in the final confrontation. In a snap poll by Yankelovich, 33% rated Carter the winner, 26% Ford, and 41% called it a toss-up. A Roper survey for the Public Broadcast Service showed Carter the clear winner by 40% to 29%, with 31% viewing the encounter as a standoff. On the other hand, an Associated Press telephone sample of 1,027 voters gave Ford the victory, 35.5% to 33%. The A.P. sample also gave Ford the edge over Carter in the overall race for the first time, 49% to 45%—though the wire service conceded that there had been prob-

Like two wary prizefighters, each convinced that he will win by a decision if only he can avoid being kayoed, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter last week feinted and jabbed, bobbed and weaved. If either had a knockout punch, he kept it under wraps. That was true throughout the week, but most emphatically during the third and final presidential debate.

The reason for the candidates' caution was clear: although the polls continue to give Carter an edge, it is extremely narrow. A new TIME-Yankelovich survey for Oct. 16 to 19, updated after the debate, showed Carter leading the incumbent by 4%—48% to 44%—with 8% still undecided. Before the debate, the figures had been 45% for Car-

Because Election Day falls on a Tuesday—in the middle of our regular work week—we are changing the publication schedule for our next two issues to bring you the results and a detailed analysis as soon as possible. The last pre-election issue will appear earlier than usual, reaching newsstands on Friday, Oct. 29, and most subscribers on Saturday, Oct. 30. Our election issue, with the winner's face on the cover, will go to press the day after the polls close. It will reach newsstands Thursday, Nov. 4, and subscribers on subsequent days. We will resume our normal publication schedule the following week.



THE NATION

IN THE CLOSING ROUNDS

lems with its sample that might have distorted the results.

On balance the last debate looked like a marginal victory for Carter, at best. The University of Chicago's Norman Nie found both men "extremely careful not to step on a single toe and not to make a single error, and I don't think people are particularly attracted to that." Marquette University's Wayne Youngquist lamented that neither came out with anything new, making it "even harder for voters to make up their minds." But Stanford Sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset thought the debate "will serve to confirm people in their choices. If they haven't made choices, it will probably confirm them in their confusion." University of California Political Scientist Aaron Wildavsky faulted Carter for "overpromising" and noted "For a second, I thought he was going to promise a cure for cancer."

A number of observers complained about the three-member panel of newsmen who questioned the candidates. Said Tom Williams, president of a San Francisco executive search firm: "I thought the reporters were somewhat biased in their questions, favoring Carter. The questions to Ford seemed much tougher." Los Angeles Political Consultant Joe Cerrell, a Democrat, agreed. He feared that viewer sympathies would go to Ford as a result.


The candidates, on the other hand, were for the most part exceptionally polite to each other. Before the debate began, Betty Ford added a grace note

by leaving a penciled message on Carter's podium. Wrote the First Lady: "Dear Mr. Carter: May I wish you the best tonight? I am sure the best man will win. I happen to have a favorite candidate—my husband, President Ford. Best of luck, Betty Ford."

Carter adopted a new, casual air of modesty. He even managed to address his opponent as "President Ford" instead of "Mr. Ford." Carter vowed that he would focus on the issues and not on the character of his opponent—whom he at one point conceded to be a "good and decent man."

Whether this cordiality will extend into the final days of what has been a tough, acerbic campaign remains to be seen. The Ford Committee plans to spend some \$10 million—40% of the total for the President's entire campaign—on a closing media blitz that will continue to include spots focusing on Carter's record as Governor of Georgia and his supposed tendency to waffle on the issues. During the debate Ford attributed the narrowing of Carter's lead in the polls to the fact that the Georgian "is inconsistent" and "tends to distort" the truth. Ford's suggestion that Democrats have kept unemployment low mainly by getting the U.S. into wars was the kind of statement that could persuade Carter to reassess the wisdom of traveling the high road.

In another head-to-head encounter between the two camps last week, the



Ford signing revenue-sharing bill in Yonkers, N.Y.; police in New York City; the President pressing flesh. Other Levine campaign closeups appear on the following pages.

Carter side scored a clear victory. At the Los Angeles Civic Center, snacking bystanders at an International Chili Society contest chose Rosalynn Carter's tangy recipe by a 4-to-1 margin over Betty Ford's. The Ford offering was rejected as too bland.

For the rest of the week, the two campaigners kept their distance. Even at the Alfred I. Smith Memorial Dinner in New York, the two managed to avoid each other. Carter had been hoping to pass up the dinner and spend the time preparing for the final debate. When he belatedly accepted the invitation from Terence Cardinal Cooke, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, the Democrat was penciled in to speak between the main course and des-



THE DEBATE

POLITE FIGHT

Jimmy Carter's first-debate nervousness had vanished. Gerald Ford's second-debate foot-in-mouth was cured. Both candidates were more poised, presidential and restrained than before—in fact, at times they sounded downright angelic. Both avoided the kind of fatal gaffe that inspires a politician's nightmares. The verbal slips were slight. Old Football Player Ford began to predict improved economic prospects for “the fifth quarter” and quickly checked himself. Carter, often accused of changing his mind, said he would select Supreme Court Justices “who would most accurately reflect my own basic political philosophy as best I could determine it.”

Overall, Ford was pushed more often into defensive positions. The three reporters, including a notably haughty Joseph Kraft, hurled some of their fastest pitches at the President—although other questions (about the propriety of constitutional amendments, the “urban intentions” of the candidates) were, in the trade idiom, real softballs. Carter exploited the challenger's advantage of attacking the incumbent's record. Both candidates probably reinforced their supporters' choice. Loosening his grip on the podium, Ford used hand gestures and head movements more freely than in the past. Carter's softer, yet still coolly assertive tone may well have gained him an edge among the voters who now matter most: the undecided. Highlights:

SACRIFICES: When asked what sacrifices they would ask the American people to make to achieve their presidential goals, neither candidate demanded much. Ford suggested vaguely that people would have to “tighten their belts” to meet some domestic problems and

sert. Ford's remarks came right after the *Star-Spangled Banner* and before the soup and salad. While Carter was still en route, the President departed. Both provoked laughter with self-deprecating quips. But Carter also scored points by reminding the largely Catholic audience that his native Georgia had supported Catholics Al Smith and John Kennedy—a hardly veiled suggestion that New York should return the favor.

As the campaign dwindled down to its final days, Carter seemed to have hit upon a tone for the windup—dropping no-holds-barred attacks on Ford to focus on issues and his vision of the nation's future. While outwardly exuding confidence, Carter made no attempt to conceal his main concern: a low voter turnout that could deny him the victory he believes will be his if only his supporters go to the polls. In a working-class neighborhood in Tampa, Fla., Carter cried, “There are indications that over half the American people are not going to vote! They are saying, ‘I’m a coward, I’m afraid of the future. I’m giving up on my nation.’ If we don’t participate, the Republicans will be there four more years.”

Neither Carter nor Ford has been able to arouse and excite the U.S. electorate. Confessed Carter: “I’m worried. I’m really worried.” Indications are that he has every right to be. Says Carter's New York State co-chairman, William vanden Heuvel: “This year there is something completely unpollable out there. There is something that none of us is picking up.” In California, where Governor Jerry Brown's lieutenants have been given belated control of the Carter operation, Campaign Aide Tom Quinn moaned, “When you see apathy and low interest this close to an election, it’s bad for Democrats.” The Democratic National Com-

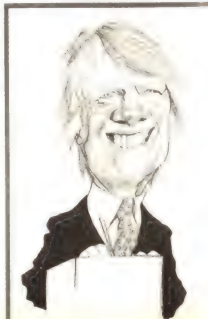
mittee's executive director, Mark Siegel, observed at week's end, “Right now, it looks like Carter is going to win an impressive electoral victory. But a week from now, who knows?”

Even professional oddsmakers were wavering. East Coast bookies were still listing Carter as a 7-to-5 favorite, down from 3-to-1 a month ago. In London the equivalent of \$10 bet on Carter will return only \$14.44 should he win. A similar \$10 bet on Ford will pay \$25 if the President is elected.

For his part, Ford discovered last week that he can no longer automatically command free television time. When he summoned reporters to his second press conference in six days, there was no live coverage: highlights were excerpted for news programs, as is always the case with Carter.

Asked to square his determination to elevate the tone of the campaign with his recent harsh attack on Carter as one who “wavers, wanders, wiggles and waffles,” Ford insisted that the description of his opponent was both “graphic and accurate.” He derided Carter as “naive” for vowing to end the Arab boycott of U.S. firms with ties to Israel, something four U.S. Presidents, he said, had been unable to do. In an apparent contradiction, Ford then added that he was really the first President to do anything (in fact, he has done very little).

In the campaign's waning days, both Carter and Ford (or their forces) will be concentrating on the same vote-heavy territory. New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, all now leaning slightly to Carter, plus three critical states that are now rated as toss-ups: Ohio, Illinois and California. Both face hectic, grueling schedules. Ford, for example, will hit nine states in one five-day stretch and does not plan to return to Washington until after he has cast his ballot in Grand Rapids on Election Day.



ON CAMPUS

would have to spend "a few billion dollars more on defense," but he made it all palatable by promising a tax cut for middle-income people. Carter contended that Americans would have to sacrifice less under him, mainly because of lower unemployment. He asked only for "voluntary price restraint" and guidelines to check inflation.

THE CAMPAIGN. Carter's most effective moment may have been his frank admission that he had made mistakes in the long campaign ("This is part of just being a human being"), particularly his *Playboy* interview. He ticked off other notables who had been interviewed by *Playboy* (Treasury Secretary William Simon, Walter Cronkite and Albert Schweitzer) but conceded, "They weren't running for President." He now knows, he said, that he should not have granted the interview. Then he vowed that his campaign would not get personal in its final days, but predicted that Ford's would. Ford admitted that he, like "most others in the political arena," had been guilty of using "rather graphic language" in the campaign.

WATERGATE. Once again, Ford refused to amplify his role in blocking an early House Banking Committee inquiry into the origins of Watergate, standing on his testimony at the vice-presidential confirmation hearings in 1973. At issue is whether Ford acted at the direction of aides to Richard Nixon, as recently claimed by former White House Counsel John Dean, or only at the request of Republicans on the Banking Committee, as Ford claimed in the debate. Ford declined to urge that Nixon tapes of the period be examined. He was misleading in claiming that both the



Watergate special prosecutor and Attorney General Edward Levi had investigated the topic and cleared him; they had merely refused to open full investigations into it. As the *Los Angeles Times*' Jack Nelson pointed out, a clearer explanation could reasonably be asked of Ford. Carter scored by declining—for the first time in any of the debates—to comment at all on the opponent's answer.

YUGOSLAVIA. Ford's best moment came as he justifiably attacked Carter for saying that, as President, he would not send U.S. troops into Yugoslavia to counter a Soviet attack in the wake of President Tito's eventual death. Ford declared firmly that "it's unwise for a President to signal in advance what options he might exercise if any international problem arose." He recalled that Secretary of State Dean Acheson had drawn a U.S. defense perimeter in 1950 that did not include South Korea and suggested ("I can't prove it's true or untrue") that it may have invited the North Koreans to invade. Carter also flubbed by saying that a Soviet move into Yugoslavia involved "the internal affairs of another country." He had a point when he argued that such a move was highly unlikely and would not directly threaten U.S. security. But security is a flexible concept; he failed to note that an invasion of Yugoslavia would rock all of Europe and could have unforeseen global repercussions.

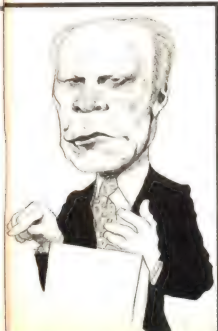
GENERAL BROWN. Neither debater distinguished himself in handling the question of what should have been done about the ill-advised comments of General George Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In a recent interview Brown called Israel "a burden" to the U.S. and Great Britain "a pathetic thing"; in 1974 he had charged that Jews unduly influenced Congress, banks and newspapers. Ford claimed, erroneously, that Brown had been "reprimanded"—a severe step in dealing with high military officers. The general was not even given a personal presidential scolding,

much less a formal reprimand. Carter said merely that Ford should have issued a quicker clarification that Brown's statements did not reflect U.S. policy.

VICE PRESIDENTS. Convinced that Walter Mondale has more presidential stature than Robert Dole, Carter cited his running mate as the kind of person he would bring into Government if he wins. Carter said he was now more sure than ever that Mondale was "the best person qualified to be President if something should happen to me," and declared he had never heard Ford make a similar claim about Robert Dole. Ford defended Dole, who was in the audience with his wife. But, while he said Dole was "fully qualified" to be President, he did not claim that his running mate was the best qualified.

THE CITIES. Carter scored by charging that the Ford Administration "has no urban policy." He cited the now famous New York *Daily News* headline that followed Ford's refusal to bail New York City out of its fiscal crisis—**FORD TO CITY: DROP DEAD**. Carter criticized the shrinkage of the federal share of education costs under the "Nixon-Ford Administration," urged that the Federal Government gradually take on a larger share of welfare costs, and suggested that revenue-sharing funds go entirely to cities, cutting out such aid to states. Ford failed to argue, as he had done effectively in the past, that he held off aid to New York until the city reformed its unsound management. Ford's counterargument implied that funds for revenue sharing and community development were adequate. As examples of his concern for urban areas, he cited his Administration's tax incentive for industry to move into depressed areas and efforts to reduce down payments required for FHA housing loans.

CIVIL RIGHTS. Carter used some of his sharpest language in attacking the Administration's record on civil rights, claiming that Ford's glowing description of that record "is hard to recognize." As evidence of his Administration's con-



DEBATE RATING

On a scale from 0 to 10

FORD CARTER

Poise and presence	7	7
Assertiveness	6	6
Grasp of subject	6	6
Clarity of exposition	5	6
Responsiveness to questions	6	7
Soundness of argument	6	6
Total score	36	38

Chart is result of averaging the ratings of seven senior TIME political correspondents: Bureau Chief, Hugh Sidney, James Bell, Laurence Barrett, Sandra Burton, Benjamin Cole, Jess Cook and National Political Correspondent Robert Aleson.

TIME Chart by Paul J. Fugère

cern for blacks. Ford at first rather lamely mentioned three high-placed blacks (Secretary of Transportation William Coleman, Four-Star Air Force General Daniel James and Three-Star Vice Admiral Samuel L. Gravely). More relevantly, the President then contended that the Voting Rights Act and other civil rights legislation were being "fully and effectively" enforced by the Government. He also cited efforts to help minority businessmen get started. But Carter vividly criticized widespread scandals in federal home-loan programs, in which minority home buyers have been victimized. He also noted the especially high unemployment rates among minority groups. Carter charged that Ford had supported the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 only when final passage was assured. In their earliest stages, he said, Ford had opposed them. Ford, indeed, had voted to recommit the voting rights bill, his stand on more than 100 proposed amendments to the act was not clear. In a moving statement, Carter said that "the greatest thing that ever happened to the South was the passage of the Civil Rights Act... it not only liberated black people, but it also liberated the whites."

GUN CONTROLS. Ford probably helped himself in Western and Southern states by firmly opposing the registration of either guns or gun owners. He proposed instead that prison terms be made more certain for crimes in which guns are used. Carter said he favored registration of handguns, but not rifles (he said he owns several hunting rifles and a handgun), and only to keep them out of the hands of mentally incompetent persons and those convicted of crimes. Ford, as he pointed out, has supported legislation to ban the sale of so-called Saturday Night Specials.

UNEMPLOYMENT. Quite properly, Ford "violently disagreed" with Kraft's

assertion that Ford's current economic record is "rotten." Carter was excessive when, in response to Ford's claim of vast economic gains under his Administration, he declared—in the evening's most biting remark: "President Ford ought to be ashamed of making that statement." Yet Carter was correct in pointing out that unemployment reached its highest level since the Depression after Ford took office (8.9% in May 1975). Mistakenly thinking that Carter had specifically referred to low unemployment in the 1950s, Ford said the figures were low because of the large number of men (3.5 million) who were serving in the Armed Forces during the Korean War. Ford did not quite echo the old Republican claim that Democrats start wars, but he did say: "This Administration doesn't believe the way to reduce unemployment is to go to war." The implication was that Democrats, including Carter, do believe that. In the night's most mystifying statement, Carter said that Ford's "environmental agency has projected a 10% unemployment rate by 1978." Not even Campaign Manager Hamilton Jordan could explain what he meant.

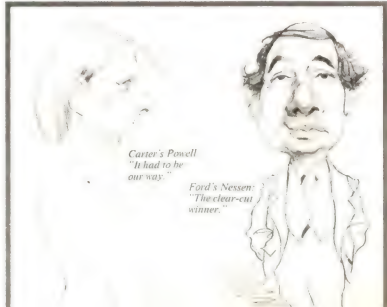
ENVIRONMENT. In trying to defend his Administration's generally weak record on environmental protection, Ford fell into some exaggerations. He claimed he had vetoed a strip-mining-control bill because it would have meant a loss of some 140,000 jobs. In fact, that was an inflated industry claim; in his own veto message last year, Ford contended that it might mean the loss of at most 36,000 jobs. Carter was right in pointing out that the job-conscious United Mine Workers had backed the bill. He was correct too in noting that Ford had held back funds appropriated for the control of water pollution.

SUMMARIES. In their summations, the two candidates expressed their contrasting views of the state of the nation more clearly than in past debates. As Ford sees it, most Americans have a far

better life than when he assumed the presidency, and his steady leadership is all that is required to make life even better. Carter took a more downbeat view, arguing that neither the nation nor all too many Americans are that well off and a fresh approach is needed.

Ford was more eloquent than in his past summations. "I did not seek the presidency," he noted, "but I am asking your help and assistance to be President for the next four years." He perhaps overemphasized the impact of the nation's Bicentennial celebration and the "new spirit" it had produced. But he movingly proclaimed: "The American people are healed, are working together. The American people are moving again, and moving in the right direction." He cited the achievement of "peace with freedom" as one of his major accomplishments. He concluded: "It would be the highest honor for me to have your support on November 2 and for you to say, Jerry Ford, you've done a good job. Keep on doing it."

Carter too was at his vintage best in summing up his case. "I believe in the greatness of our country, and I believe the American people are ready for a change in Washington. We've been drifting too long. We've been dormant too long. We've been discouraged too long," Carter conceded that "Mr. Ford is a good and decent man." But he unfavorably compared Ford's 800 days in office with John Kennedy's 1,000. Under Ford, Carter asked, "what's been accomplished?" Carter ran through his familiar and too-cluttered grab bag of current ills (the tax structure, inadequate health care, unemployment, secrecy in Government, the high cost of housing, budget deficits, inflation). He admitted that "there are no magic answers." But he predicted that if both Congress and the President, management and labor, decided together that "our nation is greater than what we are now," then "we can achieve great things."



Carter's Powell
"It had to be
our way."

Ford's Nessen:
"The clear-cut
winner."

TIME POLL

CARTER TAKES A NARROW LEAD

In the up and down battle for the presidency, Jimmy Carter last weekend moved ahead of Gerald Ford by 48% to 44%, with 8% of the U.S. electorate still undecided. Even before the third presidential debate, voter sentiment had shifted in Carter's favor by 3 percentage points. In late September a surge for Ford turned the race into a dead heat, with 43% of the vote going to each candidate. But the final 90-minute debate firmed up Carter's slim lead over Ford in a week that saw substantial numbers of undecided voters begin to take sides. These conclusions were drawn from two nationwide polls conducted for TIME by the opinion-research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly and White Inc. The findings:

1) A telephone survey, which was conducted from Oct. 16 to Oct. 19, of 1,578 registered voters showed Carter leading Ford by 45% to 42%, with 13% of the voters undecided.

2) Interviews held immediately after the debate with 608 voters—a cross section of the original nationwide sample—indicated that Carter's margin had grown slightly to 4 percentage points.

The debate apparently helped many of the undecided voters to make up their minds about the candidates. Two out of three people interviewed in the second survey had watched the debate; they backed Carter by 49% to 45%, with only 6% undecided. When those polled were asked who won the debate, 33% said Carter, 26% said Ford, and 41% called it a draw. Reflecting the closeness of the debate, voters with an opinion of who won were almost equally impressed with the personalities that the candidates displayed during the debate, the stands they took on the issues, and the way in which they handled the questions. Further, while debate watchers thought, by 47% to 38%, that Carter had come out better than Ford on questions about the economy, the President struck them, by 56% to 26%, as stronger on questions dealing with foreign affairs.

THE TRENDS. According to the survey before the debate, voters by 48% to 37% now expect Carter to win the election, a reversal in their perceptions two weeks earlier. At that time, by a margin of 44% to 40%, they predicted a Ford victory.

Carter's gains came chiefly from outside the South. In the eleven states of the old Confederacy, his lead over Ford has held almost steady at 48% to

39%. But the Georgian has moved up 3 points in the rest of the country, where he now edges Ford by 44% to 42%. Carter has also increased his majority of the Democrats' vote by 3 points, to 68% (v. 20% for Ford). His share of the independents' vote has gone up by 2 points, to 33% (v. 45% for Ford). Further, he continues to have a solid 50% (to 36% for the President) grip on the blue-collar vote, and also has made some inroads among professional and managerial voters. But he still trails Ford in that category 43% to 46%.

Carter's lead held up even when the Yankelovich analysts figured in the support for Eugene McCarthy. Though McCarthy could conceivably have a spoiler role in some states, the poll showed that he is actually losing ground in the 29 states in which he is on the ballot. In the nationwide sample, McCarthy wins

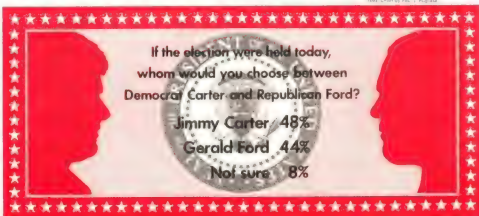
er he is the right man for the job, as compared with two out of five Ford supporters who have similar misgivings about their candidate.

THE CAMPAIGN. One result of the final debate was to mend somewhat the public images of both candidates. Of those polled, 41% said their impressions of Carter have improved, and 26% reported a similar rise in their opinions of the President. But this effect may prove to be fleeting because the pre-debate survey found that many voters' opinions of the candidates had actually grown worse during the course of the campaign. Asked in the Oct. 16-19 poll how their impressions of the candidates have changed, they gave these responses:

	Improved	Same	Worse
Carter	30%	35%	31%
Ford	20%	54%	22%

In particular, voters are displeased with the way in which Ford has handled the issue of providing jobs, dealing

TIME/CLARK FOR PHOTOGRAPHY



the backing of 7% of the voters surveyed, the same proportion as in late September. But when the analysts subtracted his strength in states where he is not on the ballot, the presidential race shaped up as follows:

	Sept.	Oct.
Carter	41%	44%
Ford	42%	41%
McCarthy	5%	3%
Lester Maddox	1%	1%
Undecided	11%	11%

Nonetheless, two factors indicate that Carter's lead is still quite volatile. First, among the hard core, who the analysts concluded would be the most likely to vote, the race remains a draw, with 42% for each candidate. Second, the electorate is still dissatisfied with both candidates. One out of five independent voters is undecided about which candidate to support, compared with 13% of the total Oct. 16-19 sample. In addition, almost half the Carter backers have some doubts about whether

with the Soviet Union and reducing the federal bureaucracy. They give him notably high marks only for the way in which he has stated his views. In Carter's case, voters are unhappy about his stand on the defense issue. But Carter has scored well with his promise to make the Government more efficient and has come through to voters as a fairer campaigner than Ford.

Each candidate's campaigning has done more to hurt his opponent's image than to improve his own standing with the voters. More than half those polled still regard Carter as overpromising and too fuzzy on the issues, slightly fewer people accuse him of changing his stands. About half those surveyed fault Ford for pardoning Richard Nixon and for being too close to business; almost the same proportion of people charge that he cannot deal with Congress. About a quarter of those polled felt Ford is not intelligent enough for the job, almost the same proportion believe his mistake during the second debate in saying that the U.S.S.R. does not dominate

THE NATION

Eastern Europe is reason enough to vote against him.

THE ISSUES. The economy continues to be the subject that most concerns voters, but the poll found that neither candidate has been able to take substantial advantage of this. Only 22% of the people surveyed have a lot of confidence in Ford's ability to deal with the economy, only 26% have a high opinion of the way Carter has handled the issue. The poll found that the proportion of people who felt they were in economic distress has remained almost stationary for two months at 30%, while TIME's State of the Nation indicator, based on a series of answers to questions that measure people's confidence in America, has slipped 4 points, to 40%. Somewhat paradoxically, however, those surveyed tend to be bullish about the economic outlook for the next few months; while 45% believe the economy will stay the same, 31% think it will improve, and only 20% expect conditions to worsen.

Voters are also weighing the different leadership qualities exhibited by Ford and Carter. Those surveyed regard the two men as equally trustworthy, but, by 44% to 21%, they rate Ford as more realistic than Carter about what can be done by Government. On the other hand, the voters believe Carter would do more than Ford to reduce unfairness in American life (41% for Carter, v. 21% for Ford), restore respect for law and cut down crime (33% v. 26%), encourage average citizens to participate more in Government (45% v. 22%), and protect the average person from special-interest groups (45% v. 22%).

THE ELECTION. No poll can predict the results of an election, especially a race as close as this one. The outcome may largely depend on the answer to the tantalizing question of who will bother to vote. Black voters prefer Carter to Ford, by 75% to 16%, but the survey indicated that they are the least likely of any voting bloc to go to the polls. Union members back Carter by 55% to 32%; thus an all-out drive planned by organized labor to get its people to the polls would help Carter more than Ford.

Among other factors that may work in Carter's favor, the Yankelovich analysts found evidence of a strong Democratic tide in the congressional elections, raising the possibility of a reverse coattail effect that will aid Carter. Of those questioned, 52% said they would vote for Democrats in these races, and 28% said they back Republicans. The voters who were undecided about whom to support in the presidential race favor Democratic congressional candidates by 44% to 20%. Moreover, by 42% to 27%, the voters prefer Carter's running mate, Walter Mondale over Republican Nominee Robert Dole. But Mondale's help may be of only marginal benefit to the Democratic ticket. The reason most voters are deciding solely on the merits of the presidential candidates.

ISSUES/COVER STORY

THE POCKETBOOK

"There is a clear choice between Jimmy Carter and President Ford. The choice is: Do you want the Federal Government to spend more and more of your money and interfere more and more in your daily lives? ... Do you want your taxes raised so you can pay for those hundred-billion-dollar programs of Jimmy Carter?" [Crowd: "No! No!"]

—Gerald Ford on the stump

"Don't blame local officials when your property taxes double if the welfare load on you has been increased under a Republican Administration and when inflation goes up and housing gets scarce. ... We had over 800 people who made over \$100,000 a year, 240 people who earned over \$200,000 a year and paid zero income taxes. When they don't pay their taxes, do you know who pays their taxes for them?" [Crowd: "We do!"]

—Jimmy Carter on the campaign trail

To hear Jerry Ford, the economy is moving onward and upward, recovering nicely (thanks to excellent Republican prescriptions) from deep recession and dire inflation, shaking off the effects of a little setback in the past few months. Says Ford: "We have had a pause. We are now coming out of the dip, and I believe that all, or practically all economists recognize that the economy is con-

WOMAN SEEKING WORK AT STATE OFFICE IN CHICAGO (TOP); WAITING FOR UNEMPLOYMENT CHECKS IN MIAMI (BOTTOM)



If they could bottle and market their bombast and bluster about the U.S. economy, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford would become millionaires many times over. To hear Carter on the stump, the nation is heading right back to 1932, with serpentine lines of unemployed, shuttered factories and silent cash registers. After the Administration released some third-quarter statistics last week, Carter put out a statement that said they point to "a continuation of high unemployment, huge budget deficits and dim prospects for an improvement in the standard of living for the average worker."

tinuing to improve and will get better in this quarter and in 1977."

Is the economy as bad as Carter says? Is it as good as Ford contends? The answers the voters give to those questions may well swing the election, for next to the character and personalities of the candidates themselves, the mercurial, often mystifying economy has become the main issue of Campaign '76. Moreover, voters this year have a genuine choice between the candidates' differing economic philosophies.

In describing the present situation, Gerald Ford is more accurate than Carter, and he is correct that most econ-

ELECTION

omists, including Democrats, believe the recovery has run into only a temporary slowdown. Nevertheless, last week's figures were troubling. The real rate of growth in the gross national product slowed further in the third quarter, to 4%, which is good in normal times but sluggish for a recovery—and not enough

to reduce unemployment. Some of the sting was removed by the news that inflation in the entire economy eased from 5.2% in the second quarter to 4.4% in the third, and housing starts in September jumped 18%, to an annual rate of 1,814,000. Still, Ford was looking ahead with some apprehension to the report of the economy's index of leading indicators, it is due out this Friday, four days before the election.

Until a couple of months ago, Ford had reason to hope he would go into the election with the economy a decided plus. By hewing to conservative, grow-slow policies, he had done much to lift the country out of its worst post-World War II recession. The Consumer Price Index has been steadily coming down, from a disastrous 11% in 1974 to a merely awful 9.1% in 1975 to an encouraging 5% this year. Yet Ford's hopes were frustrated by a lot of discouraging statistics.

There was a warning signal as early as last spring, when the real rate of growth in the G.N.P. suddenly dropped by half. That was

started to creep back up—from a low of 7.3% in May to 7.9% in August and 7.8% last month. Layoffs rose and help-wanted ads declined. After Labor Day, the signs of listlessness grew; there were fall-offs in factory orders and commercial building contracts.

What had gone wrong? Economists could easily find reasons to fit their own politics and prejudices. The monetarists, who are mostly Republican and conservative, pointed to the sharp decline in the rate of growth in the money supply in the six months up to last February: it rose only 2.7%, vs. 8.7% in the previous half-year. Since the monetarists reckon that it takes six to nine months for changes in the money supply to have an impact on the economy, they found it natural that business hit an air pocket in the late summer. Many other economists, notably liberal Democrats, pointed their fingers at the decline in the growth of the Government's fiscal stimulus. David Grove, vice president of IBM, calculates that the tax and spending changes that gave the economy a \$62.6 billion boost in the last calendar year will provide only \$28.4 billion worth of stimulus this year.

That decline has been due mainly to Ford's inflation-fighting fiscal prudence—holding down his budget proposals and vetoing many bills—a refreshing departure from the usual tendency of Presidents to pump up the economy during election years. Beyond that, the Government in the past six months has spent \$10 billion to \$15 billion less than both the Republican Administration and the Democratic Congress had expected. Nobody is sure of the reasons for this drop.

If the economy in the last three months of this year does not improve upon the 4% growth rate of the third quarter, Congress will probably act quickly to cut taxes no matter who is elected President. Yet most experts believe the economy will do better than 4% growth in this quarter and in 1977.

It should advance because incomes have edged up, profits have jumped, and interest rates are expected to decline still further. Consumer spending should increase because real disposable income has risen 2.3% so far this year, and the consumer's confidence is on the rise. For the first time in three years, most of the people polled in the University of Michigan's quarterly consumer survey thought it was a favorable time to buy big-ticket items. Housing should continue to be lifted out of its recent deep slump by the advance in personal income; the increase in new families and easier mortgage money (One problem, however, is that the average price of a new house bought with a conventional mortgage is now \$50,500.) Most important, businessmen's spending for expansion, automation and modernization should climb because pretax profits will jump by almost a third this year: to some \$150



BUYING CAMERAS IN MIAMI;
DEPOSITING SAVINGS AT NEW YORK BANK;
EYING CARS AT FORD AGENCY IN DOVER, N.J.



easily explained—and foreseen—because the 9.2% spurt in the first quarter was so great that it could not be sustained. Sure enough, it fell to 4.5% in the second quarter. Main reason: businessmen early in the year had been on a buying spree to replenish their recession-depleted inventories, and once they got those stockpiles up to par, they cooled their purchasing.

But then strange things began to happen. Late in the spring, consumers began to pull back, and retail sales went flat. Partly as a result, unemployment

THE NATION

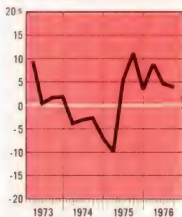
billion. Liberal Economists Walter Heller and George Perry, whose forecasts have been quite accurate, predict that business fixed investment will increase some 17% next year, to \$144 billion.

Though their confidence has been somewhat dulled by the recent dip, corporate chiefs tend to be optimistic about 1977. Says J. Paul Lyet, chairman of Sperry Rand Corp., "I am basically bullish for next year, no matter who is in the White House." General Motors Chairman Thomas Aquinas Murphy predicts that new car and truck sales next year "should eclipse" the 1973 record of 14.6 million units, including imports. Somewhat more guardedly, and reflecting the general fears that inflation could flare anew, Edson Spencer, president of Honeywell, says, "I see not a slowdown but slower, steadier growth. I'd rather see 6% than 4% growth, but I'd hate to see 10%."

There is virtually no chance that the

G.N.P.

Percent change at an annual rate (1972 constant dollars)



G.N.P. will rise by anything like a dangerously boomy 10% rate next year. Members of TIM's Board of Economists expect growth of from 4½% to 5½% in 1977. They also generally anticipate that inflation will be 5½% to 6% and unemployment will average more than 7%, not dipping below that high level until year's end—if then.

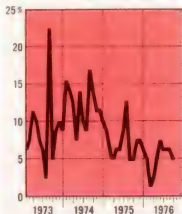
Alan Greenspan, who is on leave from TIM's board while he serves as chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, remains confident that economic growth will pick up to close to 6% in both this year's fourth quarter and 1977. Otto Eckstein, president of Data Resources Inc., forecasts that growth will rise at a 5% rate this quarter and 5½% next year. IBM's Grove anticipates about 5½% in next year's first half and 4% in the second half. Beryl Sprinkel of Chicago's Harris Trust & Savings Bank expects somewhat lower growth—just above 4% in

the first half and just below 4½% in the second half—and that suits him just fine, for he reckons that slow, steady growth will hold back inflation.

The election should change this immediate outlook very little, because the basic forces of spending, taxes and money supply that will shape the economy over the next nine months or so are already at work. If Ford is elected, he will continue his rather cautious, restrictive fiscal and monetary policies. If Carter wins, he would be more of an activist, and growth might be somewhat stronger.

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX

Percent change from previous month at compound annual rates 1967 = 100 (seasonally adjusted)



er in the second half of 1977 at the risk of slightly more inflation.

In a sense, both Ford and Carter are rather unconventional candidates in their own parties. Carter has taken a far stronger anti-Big Government and anti-bureaucracy line than is usual among Democrats, and he also has set a more populist tone. Ford has been more of an economic conservative in action than many other Republicans. Though they have some similarities, Ford and Carter disagree on so many issues that the election will affect the longer-term future of economic policies.

SPENDING. Nowhere is the distinction between the candidates sharper than in their views of the role of Government in the economy and the risks that they would take to move the nation back to full employment.

Carter differs fundamentally from Ford in that he favors more Government intervention in the economy (despite his anti-Big Government views) and more stimulus, through spending and easier money, to spur growth.

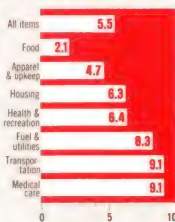
Ford believes firmly that less Government is better and that budget deficits are the engine of inflation. His assault on spending, his advisers believe is also the best means to combat unemployment. Their argument, when inflation slows, consumers and business-

men regain enough confidence to spend and invest, which in turn creates jobs. Ford says that in January 1978 he intends to present Congress with a balanced budget for fiscal 1979. That goal is virtually impossible and surely dangerous. Not only is it highly improbable that the budget deficit can be reduced by \$50 billion over two years, but the shock of such restraint would invite a severe recession.

In calling for a balanced budget by 1979, Ford never specifies where he would cut. Further, in attacking Carter as a "big spender" who would increase the budget by \$100 billion or more a year, he does not mention two key points. First, Carter has not committed himself to introduce any new programs in a particular year—though he often sounds a lot less cautious than that on the stump. Second, unless the economy grows enough to pay for those programs, Carter says, he would hold them back to achieve a balanced budget by fiscal 1981. For example, he says that his national health program would be phased in as money is available. He also pledges to hold federal spending to 21½% of the G.N.P.; it is now 23%. Of course, he

INFLATION

Percent increase in Consumer Price Index September 1975 to September 1976



may well have to fight off pressures from Congress to make him spend more.

JOBS. Carter says he aims to bring unemployment down to 4½% and inflation to 4% in 1980. Ford has offered no numerical goals, arguing that to do so might pressure policymakers into making wrong decisions in desperate efforts to achieve them. But he says that "Jerry Ford is not going to be satisfied until everybody who wants a job has a job." His prescription is continued steady growth, though slower than Democrats would like, and a minimum of Government intervention.

Carter, like Ford, recognizes that the Government cannot use fiscal and monetary stimulation to bring unemployment

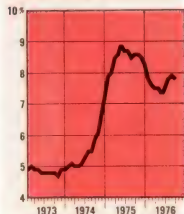
ment much below 5% or 5½% without reigniting inflation. Thus, to reach his goal of 4½% unemployment and create jobs for roughly 1 million unemployed people, Carter would push selective Government job programs—subsidies for companies to hire the unemployed, a plan like the old CCC to put jobless youths to work on urban clean-up and build-up projects, and the like. He argues that the programs would ultimately pay for themselves by getting people off the dole and turning them into productive taxpayers. Remembering that such schemes did not dent unemployment much during the 1960s, some of his advisers are skeptical. Still, others think they can avoid the pitfalls by focusing their efforts on people who have at least basic literacy and the competence to hold a job.

PRICE CONTROLS. While Ford has rejected intervening in private price and wage decisions, Carter says he would use the influences of the White House to get employers and labor to adopt voluntary limits. Says Jerry Jasinoski, Carter's chief staffer on economic issues: There would be "very vigorous use of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, including requirements for prenotification of major increases and hearings on them."

Lately, Carter has moderated his call for stand-by authority for the President to impose wage and price controls in an emergency. Says Jasinoski: "He continues to support that position, but only as a last resort. I would not anticipate any immediate, high-priority ac-

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE

Percent of civilian labor force



tion to request selective stand-by wage and price authority. That would come only if there was a national emergency." In any case, Carter says that "my guess is that I would never use them."

A number of Carter advisers, notably Arthur Okun and Charles Schultz of the Brookings Institution, argue persuasively that inflation could be lowered

by a "social contract" among Government, business and labor. One formula the Government would promise workers an increase in real incomes if peace-setting unions agreed to hold wage raises below a certain level. If they did, but price rises continued to eat into wage gains, the Government would cut taxes so that incomes would still go up. Organized labor has ignored or rejected such proposals before. But Schultze thinks that unions could now be persuaded to cooperate.

TAXES. On the campaign trail, Ford reiterates that he would lower income taxes by \$10 billion, in part by raising the personal exemption from \$750 to \$1,000. One-quarter of the cut would go to corporations, whose rates would be reduced from 48% to 46% on profits, helping them to accumulate capital for needed investment. But the President usually neglects to mention that taxes would be cut, by his own formula, only if Congress reduced spending by a like amount, which is most improbable.

To his credit, Ford has repeatedly stressed that he would reduce taxes on capital to spur investment. He would like to enact tax incentives for stock ownership, for example, by ending the double taxation of corporate income and dividends. Carter agrees on this point. The two candidates also agree that the whole tax system should be simplified—but after that they part company.

Rather stridently, Carter urges a sweeping reform of the tax system, which he calls "a disgrace." (Ford frequently points out that the U.S. tax system is largely the creation of Democratic Congresses.) His promise to unfurl a major reform program after a year or so of study has prompted great unease because Carter has not been specific about who would gain and who would lose. He has said that he would reduce the bill for "the lower-income and middle-income taxpayers," and not raise tax

TOTAL EMPLOYED

Civilian labor force (seasonally adjusted, in millions)



TIME Charts © The Chartmakers, Inc.

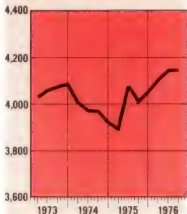
rates on salaries or wages.* This is a fairly realistic promise, for rates are rarely raised. He has declared that he would eliminate the special 50% exclusion for long-term capital gains, most of which is taken by people who earn \$50,000 a year or more. And he would close "loopholes" not only for individuals but also for corporations, including the deferral of taxes on income earned abroad by subsidiaries of U.S. corporations and special tax breaks for exporters.

This approach has several problems. For one, eliminating the capital-gains exclusion or otherwise raising taxes on capital would discourage capital formation, which the U.S. will urgently need to develop energy, expand industry and create jobs. (Carter responds that he would take care of this by special incentives for capital formation, e.g., eliminating the double taxation of corporate income and dividends.) Most important, Carter's use of incendiary language—he condemns the exploitation of "loopholes" by the "rich" and the "powerful"—has led to fears that he is striving for an egalitarianism that could remove incentives.

It is fallacious to argue that the affluent tend to pay less than their share of taxes. In 1974, the most recent re-

PERSONAL INCOME

Disposable income per capita (1972 constant dollars)



ported year, 18% of the taxpayers reported adjusted gross incomes of \$15,000 to \$25,000, and they paid 30.5% of all personal income taxes. Above that point, payments scaled up sharply: 5.4% had adjusted gross incomes of \$25,000 to \$50,000, and they paid 20.2% of the taxes; 1% had adjusted gross incomes of more than \$50,000, and they shelled out 19.1% of the taxes.

*Despite Carter's denials, Ford often charges that the Democrats would boost taxes for middle-income people because he once offhandedly suggested in an A.P. interview that there might be increases for people above "the mean or median level of income." Mean, or average, family income is \$15,546; the median is \$13,719.

THE NATION

Carter seldom defines just when a justifiable deduction becomes a loophole. Virtually all of the tax exclusions were enacted for some useful social purpose, which has not always been fulfilled. In some cases they have been exploited, and tightening up the exclusions for wealthy individuals and making them pay at least a minimum amount in taxes might serve the cause of equity. But it would raise relatively little revenue. If people with adjusted gross incomes of \$100,000 or more were denied all deductions and exclusions—including charity, local taxes, interest payments, capital gains, and so forth—the Treasury would gain some \$7 billion.

Of course, nobody wants to wipe out

and machinery is underemployed. In fact, faster growth might well lower inflation in the short run by increasing productivity. Says Jasnowski: "Carter would not accept the slow-is-beautiful, let's-be-satisfied-with-4%-growth view that the President seems happy with."

All that is based on some debatable assumptions. Is unemployment really so severe? It is concentrated largely among women and teen-agers, who are not primary breadwinners, and only 5.4% of the heads of households are jobless. Are the factories really so underused? There is some concern about the re-emergence of production bottlenecks in several industries, notably paper, petrochemicals and steel. Is demand really so low? It certainly has contributed to price rises.

Yet the hard facts are that unemployment is steep by any measure and that the jobless rate among heads of households is twice as high as in late 1973, when the recession began. The Federal Reserve Board calculates that U.S. manufacturing industries are running at 73% of capacity, down from 83% in 1973; the industrial production index did not rise at all in September.

Thus many economists, mostly Democrats, argue that the economy today has enough unused capacity that it can grow faster without risking more inflation. Consumer and corporate demand is not so strong that more rapid growth would generate a significantly faster rise in prices over the next couple of years. Virtually all of the present inflation is caused by rising costs of raw materials and labor. Indeed, some members of TIME's Board of Economists believe that consumer prices will go up by 5½% to 6½% next year, regardless of whether fiscal policy is somewhat more or somewhat less stimulative, largely because of wage increases.

Ever since he became President, Ford has erred on the side of caution—or so it appears in hindsight. Of course, he deserves much credit for bringing down inflation. But after the economic summits that he convened in the autumn of 1974, he ignored all the warnings of recession and proposed an unwisely tight fiscal policy, with income tax surcharges for individuals and companies. By December the economy had plunged, and in January 1975 Ford had to admit his error by proposing a tax cut of \$16 billion. In fact, that was too modest. Congress increased it to more than \$22 billion.

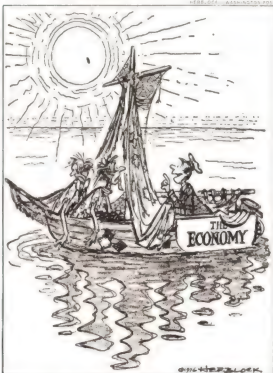
Once more this year, Ford demanded a \$395 billion ceiling on spending,

Congress enhanced the stimulus by setting spending at \$413 billion. Again, all the evidence—the recent slowdown in growth, the continuing high unemployment—shows that Ford's policy was too conservative. Democrats say Ford and his policymakers constantly stress the dangers of growing too fast, but often underplay the costs of growing too slowly—the cost of output lost. In consequence, needs go unmet, unemployment remains high, and strains develop in society.

Data Resources' Tekstein says that unless the economy picks up rather smartly in the next month or two, "it will need another push in early 1977." Walter Heller calls for a one-shot \$15 billion tax cut as soon as Congress returns to Washington in January. IBM Economist Grove has put all the figures through his computers, and concludes that the economy could stand a further \$18 billion stimulus—through a quick tax cut or more spending—without suffering further inflation. Indeed, the increased demand created by the extra money would enhance productivity and thus tend to hold down prices.

By contrast, Republicans argue that the economy is on the right track and warn against pushing it faster. Says Treasury Secretary William Simon: "If we embark once again on a course of excessive fiscal and monetary policies, we will only rekindle another round of inflation and an even worse recession." Adds Alan Greenspan: "All the items that should be in place for a fairly solid advance in 1977 are there. No fiscal-policy action is required now." Besides, as he notes, the \$10 billion to \$15 billion of budgeted money that was not spent in the past six months may be spent in the months ahead, giving the economy a delayed lift. Concludes Murray Weidenbaum of Washington University: "Policy is at the undramatic middle ground, where it belongs right now. I cannot see any really substantial change in policy that would not worsen inflation."

In sum, people who vote their pocketbooks will have a distinct choice. If Ford is elected, there is every reason to assume that the economy will continue its gradual recovery. The President will follow policies that are fairly safe and sure, if a bit slow—the "undramatic middle ground." Voters who want to go faster can find in Carter considerable promise of change, some of it not fully spelled out. His economic policies would undoubtedly be more exciting, and growth would probably be speedier. The policies would also be riskier. Just how much so would depend on whether Carter in office could stick to the sensible qualifications that he and his economic advisers usually attach to their policies—for instance, Carter's pledge that he would not start new programs until recovery provides the revenues to launch them—or whether political and other pressures would sweep them along further and faster than they expect.



"True, We're Becalmed—But On The Other Hand, We're Not Sinking."

all those deductions. Carter got burned earlier this year when he suggested that he would favor, as part of a comprehensive tax reform, eliminating the mortgage deduction, he quickly retreated from that point. But he seems to favor a rather sweeping removal of many other deductions in return for lower tax rates. Many conservatives as well as liberals applaud this commendable, if politically difficult idea.

GROWTH. Carter would aim for economic growth of 5½% a year, and perhaps more, until unemployment was brought down to the 4½% range. His rather traditionally liberal Democratic view is that reasonably faster economic growth than at present is not likely to generate much more inflation as long as so much of the nation's manpower

A cowboy wearing a green hat and a patterned shirt is riding a horse. The background is a dramatic, cloudy sky with warm, golden light. The overall style is reminiscent of a classic Western painting.

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THE NEW MATH OF UNEMPLOYMENT

On some pastoral, primitive islands of Micronesia, bare-breasted maidens and wives do a lot of the hardscrabble work and are among the primary breadwinners, going to the reefs and lagoons to fish for the family table. Naturally, their labors make life a lot easier for the menfolk. Women's lib notwithstanding, the U.S. has not approached this state of affairs—which male chauvinists may or may not applaud—but the fact is that women are surging into America's labor force, increasingly doing what in simpler times was called men's work. In the process they are drastically altering the whole U.S. job situation and changing the terms of the debate over unemployment.

Since 1956, women's share of the labor force has risen from 29% to 36%. Today 34.5 million American women

tember only 2.5% of those in the labor force had been out of work for 15 weeks or more and 6% for a year or more. The unemployment rate was 5.4% among heads of households* and 6.1% among adult men (aged 20 and over); it was 7.5% for women and 18.6% for teens. Indeed, the large increase of women and teens in the labor force has persuaded most economists to change their "full employment" standard from an unemployment rate of 4% to 5%.

Unemployment is no longer the national trauma it once was—and, in large measure, Jerry Ford can thank the New Deal for that improvement. The Social Security Act of 1935 and subsequent social legislation so greatly extended the jobless benefits that most out-of-work Americans now collect tax-free income for up to 65 weeks, averaging from \$48.15 weekly in Mississippi to \$95.56 in the District of Columbia. In fiscal 1976 the average payment was \$71.85 weekly, and more than 10 million people collected jobless checks at one time

Armed with these figures, and the fact that the number of Americans at work has jumped from 86 million to 87.8 million in the 26 months of Ford's presidency, some economists argue that the unemployment picture is not as dismally gray as Jimmy Carter paints it. Moreover, the U.S. lists as unemployed some people—for example, full-time students looking for part-time work—who would not be counted as jobless in other industrial countries.

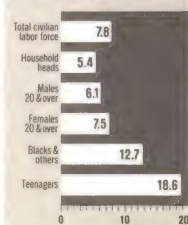
The AFL-CIO and the National Urban League argue, however, that the U.S. actually underestimates unemployment because it does not count people who have become so discouraged about seeking work that they have dropped out of the labor force. Counting them in, the AFL-CIO reckons that unemployment in September was not 7.8% but actually 10.3%.

There is no denying that the present unemployment if long continued would debilitate the nation. Though their prescriptions differ, Ford and Carter agree that the nation should not and cannot tolerate such unemployment. It

THE JOBLESS

September 1976

Percent of total in each group



TIME Chart by The Chartmakers, Inc.

hold jobs or are registered as looking for them, including almost three out of every five wives aged 18 to 44 and almost one out of two mothers.

Meanwhile, another group of work-seeking Americans has also expanded rapidly: teen-agers. Their share of the labor force since 1956 has increased from 6.5% to 9.3%.

The profound consequence is that the number of people looking for work is leaping faster than the economy can provide jobs, and unemployment sticks on a high plateau (7.8% in September). Because women and teen-agers are often among the last hired and first fired—and the least trained—their presence in the job market swells the official unemployment rate. And that much headlined statistic tends to exaggerate the image of dire suffering caused by unemployment. In Sep-



STOCK BROKER



OIL WORKER



POLICEWOMAN

or another. Add food stamps, welfare, union unemployment benefits (which in the auto industry bring jobless aid up to as much as 95% of take-home pay for some workers), and it is clear that most of the unemployed get by today without severe hardship.

Some people—nobody has a good estimate of how many—are not actively looking for jobs but list themselves as unemployed in order to collect the benefits that are available. In scattered cases, the benefits amount to more than people can earn after deducting taxes and expenses and thus deter them from looking hard for work. Says an unemployed Miami secretary: "My take-home pay was \$135 a week. I spent \$35 for child care, about \$10 getting back and forth to the office and maybe \$10 for clothes to wear at work. I'm better off staying at home and drawing unemployment checks." With benefits so generous, still other workers arrange to leave their jobs to look for better employment, last month 929,000 people left their jobs of their own free will.

*In many of these households of course other members of the family were at work.

will be difficult to get below the 5% "full employment" goal, in part because many people are merely "between jobs" or lack basic job skills. The difference between that 5% and the present level of nearly 8% is where the real unemployment problem lies. The Congressional Joint Economic Committee reckons that every 1% of unemployment costs the U.S. \$18 billion in lost tax revenues and increased unemployment insurance benefits. At that rate, the U.S. could save \$50 billion if joblessness were reduced from the present 7.8% to 5%. More important, in human terms the long-term unemployed are a serious problem. The unemployment rate among blacks (12.7%) is dreadful. It slows overall black progress and contributes to the decay of the cities. As long as modern society encourages so many women to want to work, more jobs must be created for them as well as for teen-agers—the alternative being a nagging despair and disillusionment with the capitalist system. The social problems not solvable by overall economic policy, but requiring specific, targeted programs.

HOW THEY STAND ON THE OTHER ISSUES

With the possible exception of the economy, voters have viewed the 1976 presidential campaign as essentially an examination of character. Easily lost in the weeks of personality analysis

rhetoric and misadventure have been the candidates' positions on specific subjects of national concern. Here is a comparison of their views on seven vital topics

Ford: For the President the centerpiece of foreign policy—as laid down by his mentor Henry Kissinger—is the prevention of nuclear war. This means giving the highest priority to U.S. relations with the Soviet Union. Although Ford purged the word détente from his political vocabulary earlier this year, it remains his desire to relax tensions with Moscow and engage it in a web of technological, cultural and economic interrelations that presumably make it too costly for the Soviets to return to cold war confrontation. Ford is also pressing for a new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) based on the agreement he reached with Soviet Party Boss Leonid Brezhnev at their November 1974 meeting in Vladivostok; it would limit each superpower to 2,400 strategic nuclear-weapon launchers. This accord has been delayed because of disagreements (within the Administration as well as between Washington and Moscow) over the definition of "strategic nuclear weapon."

In the volatile Middle East, Ford has authorized massive support for Israel (\$4.3 billion in aid in the past two years), along with measures designed to gain the trust of the Arab states, such as economic aid and arms sales. Acknowledging that Kissinger's tactic of step-by-step diplomacy may have achieved all it can, Ford suggests that the next move toward a Middle East peace probably should be a general conference.

Ford denies that he has not given sufficient priority to U.S. relations with its allies. He points to the kind of intimate consultation on economic matters that went on at the summit meetings at Rambouillet, France, and San Juan, Puerto Rico, when he met with the leaders of Western Europe and Japan.

Advocating "quiet diplomacy," Ford is willing to authorize secret negotiations when he thinks they are necessary and occasional CIA covert operations. He also argues that any U.S. action concerning internal repression in such countries as Iran and South Korea is best advanced "quietly" rather than by public threats to curtail aid or trade. Drawing a distinction between morality and moralizing, Kissinger noted last week that a key test of morality is "what we are able to implement," adding that the Administration has secured the release of "hundreds of prisoners throughout the world" without publicity.



Foreign Policy

Ford is on matters of emphasis and style. Instead of what the Georgian derisively calls Kissinger's "Lone Ranger, one-man policy of international adventure," Carter proposes to make greater use of Congress, the State Department and the Cabinet in formulating foreign policy. In place of what he terms Kissinger's "balance of power" outlook, Carter vows to pursue what he calls "world order politics" and says he would be a tougher negotiator with the Kremlin. What all this means in practice, however, is somewhat unclear. Carter is similarly vague in explaining how he might succeed (where Ford has had trouble) in convincing Moscow—and the Pentagon—that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. should begin reducing their nuclear arsenals. It is also uncertain how Carter, in practical terms, would fulfill his promise to do more than Ford to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons.

On a number of other matters Carter advocates important changes in U.S. policy. In the Middle East he seems considerably less willing than Ford to court the Arabs by granting them economic and military aid and selling them weapons. While both candidates declare they would not tolerate any future oil embargo imposed by Arabs, Carter specifically warns that such an action would be regarded by him as an "economic declaration of war" warranting a virtual halt of all U.S. trade with the boycotters.

Making morality in foreign affairs a major issue, Carter charges that it is wrong for the U.S. to be the world's leading arms salesman. He finds it "repugnant" that Washington backs authoritarian regimes like South Korea and has suggested that either Seoul start reforming or the U.S. should consider a cutback in aid or in U.S. security forces there. Carter also feels that the U.S. has a moral obligation to do significantly more than it has to help underdeveloped countries and to participate in what could be very costly international commodity agreements to bolster the economies of such countries.

Ford: Having accomplished little in the past two years to free the nation from its increasing dependence on foreign oil, the President still lacks a comprehensive policy for energy. His \$100 billion crash program to subsidize non-petroleum sources of power was roundly defeated by Congress last year because it was considered extravagant. As an alternative strategy, Ford has pushed—and Congress has blocked—complete deregulation of oil and gas prices to allow what he calls "the efficient means" of market forces to encourage conservation and development of new energy supplies. The President is still calling for programs to increase the use of coal, to harness the potential of solar energy and fusion power, and to facilitate the construction of nuclear-power plants. He is generally opposed, however, to mandatory energy conservation measures.

Energy



Carter: Expressing horror at the nation's lack of an energy program, Carter has called for the creation of a Cabinet-level agency to develop and consolidate all energy policies. Because he feels oil may be gone as a fuel source in 30 years, he proposes "Government inducements" to foster a shift to coal from oil and gas and to find a way to exploit solar power. Carter believes the development of more efficient automobiles, improved insulation for houses and a variable rate structure for utility companies, which discourages profligate use of electricity, must all be fostered by the Government. If these steps fail to conserve sufficient energy, then Carter wants stand-by power to levy taxes on petroleum products to reduce consumption. Unlike Ford, Carter feels "dependence on nuclear power should be kept to an absolute minimum," primarily because of the "many risks" involved.

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—Captain Albert E. Sabo has flown over 20,000 hours in his 30 years with Allegheny

ALLEGHENY	303,331
TWA	292,556

1975 scheduled departures worldwide
Source: Civil Aeronautics Board

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Ford: His repeated assertion that he has proposed the biggest defense budget in U.S. history (\$112.7 billion for 1977) is the President's way of emphasizing his commitment to increased military spending. His promise: "To keep the U.S. the single most powerful nation on earth." He is deeply worried—as are many experts, including former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, who has briefed Carter on national security matters—by the Soviet Union's outspending the U.S. on arms in recent years. The concern is that the strategic balance by which war is deterred may be upset. Ford wants the U.S. to have a bigger navy, more jet fighters and newer tanks. He is also insistent that the U.S. go ahead with production and deployment of advanced strategic weapons. Among them: the MX, a powerful and highly accurate intercontinental missile; the B-1 bomber, a supersonic jet capable of evading Soviet anti-aircraft defenses and delivering nuclear warheads with pinpoint accuracy; the Trident submarine, whose increased missile range makes the U.S. underwater-based deterrent less vulnerable to Soviet attack.

Ford especially prizes the MX and B-1 (the bomber program's cost is \$21 billion) for their accuracy, which could enable them to hit Soviet military and industrial sites. This fits into a recent and still controversial change in U.S. strategy that seeks an ability to respond to a Soviet provocation in a forceful but limited way that is not absolutely certain to trigger a total nuclear war. Ford opposes any significant reduction in the number of troops based abroad (434,000, down from 519,000 in 1974), arguing that such forces are seen by U.S. allies and potential aggressors as evidence of Washington's determination to protect its friends and fight its foes. The President says Carter's proposed budget reductions in the Defense Department would make it "impossible" for the country to defend itself and that "cutting muscle out of America's defense... is the best way to destroy [peace]."

Defense



Carter: A militarily mighty U.S. is also advocated by Carter, though with more qualifications than offered by Ford. Says he: "The No. 1 responsibility of any President is to guarantee the security of our country." But because he regards the Pentagon as "the most wasteful bureaucracy in Washington," Carter believes he can slash \$5 billion to \$7 billion from defense expenditures without weakening U.S. forces. (Carter once, 19 months ago, suggested a \$15 billion defense cut—an abandoned proposal that Ford keeps bringing up and attacking.) To achieve the savings, Carter calls for the brass to improve its managerial techniques and reduce the percentage of support troops relative to combat troops. He also urges a reduction in the number of high-salaried generals and admirals and the withdrawal of some U.S. troops from overseas bases. A special target is South Korea, from which he suggests removing "most of our troops... in carefully staged withdrawals" over a period of five years. He says, however, that he would consult Tokyo and Seoul before pulling out the G.I.s.

Carter deplores any talk about the possibility of using nuclear weapons for tactical, limited purposes. He has called for a U.S.-Soviet five-year moratorium on all nuclear testing (without specifically indicating how this could be monitored) and for tougher enforcement of international safeguards on nuclear processes and technology (without explaining how he would prevent U.S. allies, such as France and West Germany, from selling sophisticated nuclear reactors to developing countries). He opposes construction of the B-1 bomber because he thinks it is "wasteful of taxpayers' dollars," but favors continuing research on it as well as upgrading and extending the useful life of the B-52 supersonic bomber. He also might delay the \$30 billion MX missile program. However, Annapolis graduate and former submariner that he is, Carter is willing to go full steam ahead with the Trident submarine program: eleven are planned at \$885 million each.

Ford: Perhaps the single issue that most cleanly divides Ford and Carter is their approach to preserving the environment. The nonpartisan League of Conservation Voters, which includes the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth, rates the former Georgia Governor as "outstanding" and the President as "hopeless." That is overstating the case, but Ford—given the hard choice of protecting the environment or fostering economic development—has usually decided in favor of industry and jobs. Says the President: "Unemployment is as real and as sickening a blight as any pollutant that threatens the nation." Thus, Ford has twice vetoed bills that would control strip mining, which scars the earth, and he has eased deadlines for industry to comply with federal clean-air directives. Last week he vetoed a bill, supported by environmentalists, to create a federal plan for the use of the nation's land and water resources. (His reason: the bill could create a "large and costly bureaucracy" and limit local government prerogatives.) In an about-face, Ford did propose a \$1.5 billion program in August to more than double the nation's parklands in a decade; but he lost credibility when it turned out that most of the "new" land he had in mind was to be taken from 80 million acres previously set aside for public use in Alaska. To put Ford in a corner, the Democrats then sent to the White House an even more ambitious parks development and expansion plan, calling for spending \$8.5 billion over a ten-year period. His hand forced, the President signed the measure in September. However, more than 250 environmentalists, doubting his conviction to follow through and considering his record as a whole, last week accused the President of "unprecedented insensitivity" to conservation issues.

Environment



Carter: The Democratic candidate argues that economic development does not have to harm the environment, but frankly declares: "I want to make it clear that if there is ever a conflict, I will go for beauty, clean air, water and landscape." According to Lewis Regenstein, executive vice president of the Fund for Animals, "Carter has taken a stronger stand on environmental issues than any other candidate in

modern times." In contrast to Ford, Carter favors a federal role in long-range land-use planning, tougher controls on air and water pollution and a bill that would "require reclamation of the land as a condition of strip mining." One of Carter's villains is the U.S. Army's Corps of Engineers, which he claims is far too eager to build dams that end up drowning scenic areas. Carter promises in campaign speeches "to put the Corps of Engineers out of the dam-building business." The environment is an issue on which Carter has a well-established record. While serving as Governor of Georgia, he managed to block the Army—although it was supported by the state legislature, previous Governors and Georgia congressmen—from constructing a dam that would have impeded the Flint River, the last free-flowing river in the Piedmont section of the state. Carter also fought successfully to help preserve Georgia's coastline and wetlands. He established a Heritage Trust Commission to preserve choice natural areas, as well as historical and cultural sites. While reorganizing the state government, Carter combined the state's environmental agencies into a single department of natural resources and upped its budget. He also made some outstanding appointments to key environmental posts, and conservationists came to believe that they had the ear of his administration.

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That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health

17 mg. "tar", 1.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette. FTC Report April 1976.

A road toughener can prevent more than just potholes.



When an unexpected bump jerks the steering wheel, a pothole can turn from a nuisance into a very real menace.

Drop a wheel into a pothole at forty miles an hour, and you can blow a tire, break a wheel, even skitter off the road.

How do you prevent that?

Now repairs can be made faster. And stronger.

Petromat® helps solve the problem. Used to repair damaged roads, the tough Petromat underliner fabric helps

stronger than ever before possible.

Road crews using a special installation unit can repair long stretches of road in a single day.



already using the underliner to reinforce runways.

The tough protection puts a stop to hazardous cracks before they happen. So vital runways are open for business, not closed for repairs.

Petromat gives tennis buffs a better bounce.

Contractors are even using the fabric as a sub-surface for new tennis courts. Good news for everybody who's ever lost a match on a bad bounce.

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And it was developed by the same people who make fine products for your car.

The people of Phillips Petroleum.

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The Performance Company

Petromat underliner stops dangerous cracks from breaking apart new paving, keep cracks from reflecting through from the old road to the new surface, and helps seal out destructive water seepage. And it makes repairs faster and

Petromat saves money by saving manhours. But it can also save something much more important. Lives.

At some major airports, they're

Ford: Although he has pledged himself to carry out laws and court orders on busing, the President is dead set against the practice. Says he: "I do not believe that court-ordered, forced busing to achieve racial balance is the right way to get quality education." At Ford's direction, the Administration is now looking for other ways to achieve integration while improving the quality of schools. Claiming that some federal judges "have gone too far," Ford sent Congress a proposal—which died in committee—that would limit the courts to ordering busing for no longer than five years in districts making good-faith efforts to desegregate. He has also suggested that he would seek tax credits for parents who send their children to parochial or private schools. Although he supports the fair-housing laws, Ford is opposed to federal plans to break up homogeneous neighborhoods—a point he emphasizes while campaigning hard for the big-city ethnic vote. Ford may have hurt himself with blacks by not moving quickly enough to fire Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz after his racist remarks.

Race



key to the plan would be getting representatives of minority groups into the decision-making process. Carter's famed remark about wanting to preserve the "ethnic purity" of a neighborhood (later qualified to "ethnic character, ethnic heritage") also represents a viewpoint close to Ford's. As Carter sees it, the Government should not force "a particular ethnic or economic mix" upon an established neighborhood. Despite these views, Carter has the overwhelming support of blacks, who admire his excellent record on civil rights while Governor. Well remembered is Carter's characterization of the 1960s' civil rights legislation as "the best thing that ever happened to the South in my lifetime."

Ford: The President believes that welfare programs got out of hand long ago, citing as proof the fact that in the past year New York City had to pay \$700 million in benefits while teetering on the verge of bankruptcy. He has called for a "sweeping overhaul" of what he describes as the welfare "mess," but he has not spelled out in detail the reforms he deems necessary. Because of the complexity of welfare programs, Ford believes the basic system could not be changed much before the end of the decade. In the interim, he has asked Congress for permission—still not granted—to crack down on welfare cheaters by rewriting the rules of federal programs "to make [them] more equitable and efficient." Prodded by Ford, the Department of Agriculture tried to revamp the \$5 billion food-stamp program, seeking to cut red tape as well as to tighten up regulations. The proposals, now blocked in the courts, would remove an estimated 5 million people from the list of 19 million receiving stamps. In broad terms, Ford's instincts are to give welfare to those who cannot help themselves, but to get those who can work off the dole by improving the economy and thus generating more jobs. This conforms with his basic philosophy that government should try to improve the business climate with jobs that come from private enterprise.

Welfare



New York City). The cities, which now carry part of the welfare burden, would no longer be required to pay anything; the bill would be divided between the Federal Government—the lion's share—and the states. Carter argues that 90% of the 12 million people now on welfare cannot provide properly for themselves and hence "should be treated with love and compassion and respect and dignity." As for the 10% able to work, he would give them special training and, provided the private sector cannot hire them—a solution he prefers—he would generate jobs through federal programs. If these welfare recipients refused to go to work, vows Carter, "I wouldn't pay them any more money"—a line that customarily draws cheers from his audiences. He says that there are 2 million welfare workers "bogged down in red tape" serving the 12 million recipients—a 1-to-6 ratio that reorganization could improve.

Carter: From the start of his campaign, Carter has urged a major change. He would replace the entire jerry-built welfare system that hands out money in a welter of ways with one making single payments. Adjusted for cost of living differences around the country, the allotments would largely end the migration of jobless families from areas with low benefits (like Mississippi) to high-paying areas (like

Ford: "I am opposed to abortion on demand," says the President, although he would condone the practice in the case of a woman who has been raped. Ford is against a proposed constitutional amendment—backed by the Roman Catholic Church and the right-to-lifers—that would outlaw abortion throughout the U.S. However, he favors an amendment to the Constitution that would give each state the right to set up its own standards for abortion. Ford's critics protest that he is dodging the issue, since such an amendment has little chance of passing. It must be approved not only by two-thirds of the Senate and House but by three-fourths of the states. Yet twelve states had already passed laws approving abortion in one form or other prior to the 1973 landmark Supreme Court decision allowing abortion on demand up to the third month of pregnancy.

Abortion



dividual states. After a meeting with Carter, six Catholic bishops said they were "disappointed" in his approach (they were "encouraged" by Ford's), and Carter—in one of the worst moments of his campaign—waffled. He said he was not necessarily opposed to all anti-abortion amendments, just the ones he had heard about so far. Carter soon reverted to his earlier anti-abortion position. He would not change his mind, he tells Catholic audiences, "just to win an election."

Carter: Like his opponent, the Democratic candidate is personally opposed to abortion and against the use of federal funds to pay for the operation. He favors increased federal birth-control programs to reduce the need for abortions. The key difference between Carter and Ford is that the Georgian is opposed to any constitutional amendment on the subject, including one that would leave the matter up to the in-

THE VOTERS

WILL 70 MILLION SIT IT OUT?

Many forecasters are talking about an exceptionally low voter turnout, despite a razor-close race for the presidency that normally would draw more people to the polls. Why? TIME National Political Correspondent Robert Ajemian sent this report:

Field Coordinator Nick Nicholson was ready for trouble as he turned briskly into the Jimmy Carter storefront office in downtown Indianapolis last week. For months he had traveled around the country trying to sign up voters. It had been discouraging; only a few volunteers ever showed up, and there was rarely enough money for buttons and bumper stickers to soften up a sullen public.

Nicholson moved past the empty vending machines of what used to be Earl's Snack Shop into the back workroom and found exactly what he had feared: 25 of the bank of 30 telephones were unmanned. A cordial, soft-spoken man from a small town in Kentucky, Nicholson, 28, nonetheless knows how to use a stick when he has to. He jumped all over the local staff. His tongue was blunt, at times crude, and later he ruefully explained why he had acted that way. "It's damn frustrating out here," he said. "There's no spontaneity, no volunteer spirit. Even the party regulars are hard to turn out."

The public, as Nicholson sees it, has been little touched by the 1976 campaign. Carter's Atlanta vote director, David Brunell, likens it to the sound of one hand clapping. A Democratic National Committee official involved in the registration and get-out-the-vote drive says that in 16 years of precinct politics he has never seen so little public interest. With 150 million Americans of voting age, this year's registration is likely to total roughly 100 million, about even with 1972 despite the fact that some 9 million more voters become eligible.

It is not so much that the voters are apathetic as that they are emotionally drained, skeptical, even resentful of the caliber of the two candidates and the of-

ten petty campaign. Such is the level of disillusionment that more than 70 million Americans may stay at home next week. That would surely boost Gerald Ford's election chances, since the more affluent and older voters, who tend to vote Republican, will probably turn out. Says the highly regarded Washington pollster Peter Hart: "It's the best thing Ford has going for him, and he knows it." Ford staffers do not disagree. They are purposely running negative television ads—like the ones that feature fellow Georgians running down Carter's record as Governor—not to convert voters to the President but to undercut his opponent and depress the vote.

Political scientists are disturbed by the steady voter decline since 1960. "We're building a huge vacuum at the center of our political system," says Walter Dean Burnham of M.I.T. He compares our 1972 turnout of 55% with Sweden's 90% and West Germany's 91%. Says Burnham: "Low turnout leads to special-interest voting. A small disciplined group can swing an election." Pollster Hart, in a major study of non-voters published last month, was alarmed to find that young voters are not moving into the political process. "They're like a lost generation that doesn't want to participate," says Hart. "Nonvoting is becoming the norm."

Not all observers are so pessimistic. Princeton Political Scientist Michael Kagay, who has studied voting trends, believes the turnout will actually be higher than four years ago because voters considered the 1972 election to be a foregone conclusion and therefore abstained. He predicts a 58% turnout. Most observers, however, concur with the Hart poll that the figure will be closer to 50%. Burnham's own estimate: a depressing 48.5%. "If Ford wins," says Burnham, "it will be because Democrats decided not to vote."

Turned-off voters have clearly become the No. 1 danger for Jimmy Carter and his staff. Everywhere Carter traveled last week he warned and pleaded with his audiences to be sure to vote. His top advisers, Charles Kirbo and



NICHOLSON GETS OUT THE INDIANA VOTE
No spontaneity, no spirit.

Hamilton Jordan, put urgent calls out to party regulars across the country, seeking their help. It was an ironic turn, since until now the party organizations, weak as they are in most states, had virtually been bypassed. But now California Governor Jerry Brown was implored to travel the country and exhort the youth voters. Senator Edward Kennedy was asked to fly to California and elsewhere to help with Catholics and minorities. Even the ailing Hubert Humphrey was asked to make a last-minute emotional radio appeal from his New York hospital bed to persuade Democrats not to stay away from the polls.

Democratic mayors from cities such as Toledo and Buffalo were calling nervously last week for help. The traditional Democratic ethnic voters in their areas, the mayors said glumly, are not inclined to vote. The national party leadership is making a massive effort to spin that around. The AFL-CIO is mailing millions of pieces of literature—including tons of the buttons and stickers that are in such short supply in many places—to its union members, beseeching them to vote.

Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss zeroed in on the turnout problem early and si-
phoned \$1.9 million into voter registration and get-out-the-vote programs in 14 populous states. Says Strauss with some satisfaction: "It's turned out to be the second most important decision of the campaign." (The first, he says, was Carter's choice of Walter Mondale as his running mate.) The Republicans, on the other hand, have made no registration effort. They have identified their traditional voters and, with phone banks in every state, have been making thousands of calls to alert them to vote. Says Dick Thaxton, who directs the G.O.P. program: "The Democrats say it's cold



JORDAN & STRAUSS MEET IN WASHINGTON

The Wedge.

Zenith built it for people who want high performance sound and professional features.

The Wedge brings you the clear, rich, natural sound of Zenith's finest Allegro stereo system. Its long list of sophisticated features includes our most precise tuner-amplifier.

High performance?

The Wedge delivers 12 watts of power per channel (min. RMS) into 8 ohms, yet total harmonic distortion is held to a low 0.5% or less (power bandwidth 40 to 18,000 Hz).

Professional features?

A Hi-filter lets you switch off high-frequency hiss. The sensitive AM/FM/Stereo FM tuner-amplifier features highly advanced electronics for improved selectivity and reception. And, there's FM muting, Tuned RF on AM and FM, Dual Gate MOS FET, Phase

Locked Loop IC Stereo FM Multiplex Decoder, Automatic Frequency Control, Precision Vernier Tuning. And a large, accurate Tuning Meter.

The precision automatic turntable features the famous Micro-Touch tone arm, a dual-radius diamond stylus, and smooth-performing, viscous-damped Cue Control.

The 8-track cartridge recorder/player has Pause Control for easy editing and Dual Level Controls with meters for accurate stereo recording.

The remarkable performance of the Wedge is further enhanced by the unique Zenith Allegro Tuned-Port speakers. They free the deep bass sounds many other speaker systems trap inside. And they work so effi-

ciently that comparable size air-suspension speakers need fully *twice* the amplifier power to achieve Zenith's overall sound performance.

The Wedge brings you all this in a handsome, compact modular system with all functions matched and balanced. Now you can forget about all the confusion and uncertainty of trying to match up different brands of complicated components.

The unique Wedge—just one of a complete line of Zenith Allegro sound systems, precision-engineered to please your ears and your budget.

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The quality goes in before the name goes on.[®]



Model HR596W.
Simulated wood cabinet
with richly grained
Walnut finish.

The New Chevrolet. More of the

More mileage.

Compared to the standard V8 on the 1976 full-size Chevrolet wagon. And a 22-gallon fuel tank gives you cruising range.

20 16

MPG Highway MPG City

EPA estimates: 20 mpg highway, 16 mpg city with the new standard 305 V8 engine, automatic transmission and standard rear axle. Actual mileage may vary depending on the type of driving you do, your driving habits, your car's condition and available equipment. California EPA mileage ratings for the 1977 Caprice Classic and Impala Wagons are 17 mpg highway, 13 mpg city with the 350 4 V8 engine (required in California) and automatic transmission. The 305 V8 is not available in California.

A 3-way door-gate.

It drops down as a gate for cargo loading, or opens out as a door with the window up or down to let passengers in and out of three-seat models.



Roomy cargo compartment.

The New Chevrolet cargo compartment is well thought out to take loads up to four feet wide through a rear opening that's wider at the base and higher overall.



A well-appointed interior.

Soft, cut-pile carpeting throughout. Richly patterned, neatly tailored vinyl upholstery (or cloth and vinyl, if you'd rather). Smart wood grain vinyl accents in oil, a high degree of finish.



More manageable in city traffic.

Compared to full-size 1976 Chevrolet wagons. The New Chevrolet is more manageable. The turning circle, curb to curb, is 3 feet shorter.



New corrosion protection.

Special metals, a zinc-rich primer, aluminum wax spray and a bright, deep acrylic finish help keep the beautiful Body by Fisher beautiful.

Now that's more like it...

GM

things you want in a wagon.

Quick, easy seat conversions.

A lever releases the folding third seat back. A button high on the side panel (shown below) lets the second seat back fold forward. It takes but seconds.

Lockable storage in the side.

Over two cubic feet in the side. Handy storage trays hold things that usually clutter seats and floor.

...and under the floor.

Another 4.7 cubic feet under the cargo deck on two-seat models. To keep valuables locked up tight and out of sight (less on three-seat model shown).



The New Chevrolet wagon is quiet, too, thanks to a design that isolates road noise more effectively, and a new resilient, one-piece acoustical ceiling.

There are two distinctive side treatments available: subtle two-toning or the familiar wood-grain vinyl. And, of course, your Chevy dealer can show you a generous list of available comfort, convenience and appearance options.

All comparisons relate to the 1976 full-size Chevrolet wagon.

Chevrolet

Eliminates excess inches or ounces.

This is a wagon clearly more efficient in its use of space, fuel and other materials. And you'll never appreciate that more than when you slip into a tight parking space.

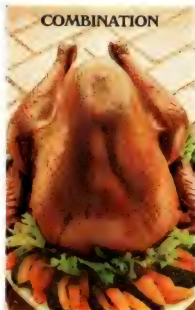
All this in a wagon that rides like a big, comfortable sedan.

Naturally, we don't expect you to take our word for this. Hence a personal invitation to you and your family to visit a Chevy dealer and drive this New Chevrolet wagon at your earliest convenience.

1977 Chevrolet Caprice Classic Wagon with available Estate equipment



Litton Combination Microwave Cooking. A better way to cook.



COMBINATION



MICROWAVE



CONVENTIONAL

This Litton Combination microwave range may look like a conventional range, but it doesn't cook like one. It cooks three ways at once by combining microwave and conventional cooking. So you can cook with microwave or conventional or in both combination at the same time.

Combination Cooking.

Why microwave and conventional cooking in one oven? Simple. Because the two in combination cook better as one. Microwaves penetrate foods quickly to seal natural flavor and moisture inside while conventional baking or broiling browns and crisps outside.

You get better taste in less time. Crunchy toasted cream-covered chicken, toasts quickly. Lighter breads and pastries, even delicate meatloaves, cook faster. Vegetables and fresh fruits that can be cooked in just 25 minutes.

And a very handy Step Setter. Litton's® automatic select the right combination of microwave and conventional cooking times. Set it and forget it.



Good Microwave Range

Microwave cooking.

Use the combination range as a microwave oven. Quickly heat leftovers, vegetables and sauces. Defrost frozen foods automatically. And save time and electricity cooking, too.

Conventional baking and broiling.

Use the combination range for conventional baking and broiling. Close the door, broil, bake.

And it's automatic. So the one piece controls deep convection cooking and self-cleaning oven system that removes even the toughest baked-on stains.

You'd expect it from Litton.

Whether you want recipes or the functions of a microwave oven, our exclusive 285-page Combination Cookbook gives you better recipes, more, better taste. The combination range comes with the combination.

Most of our full-line of quality microwave and combination microwave ovens, combination and double oven microwave ranges. Also, contact us for more information.

For his name and address, call us right now. 24 hours (800) 328-7777.

LITTON
Microwave Cooking

**Litton... changing
the way America Cooks.**

out there with the voters. We think it's only chilly. Our vote is pretty steady."

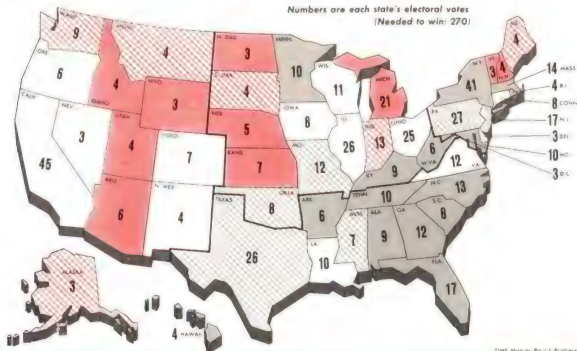
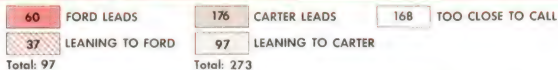
Officials in both camps agree on one fact: neither Ford nor Carter has stirred this year's troubled voters. Professor Everett Ladd, a visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford, believes if Adlai Stevenson and Dwight Eisenhower were running this year, the vote would be higher by at least 10%. Walter Burnham agrees. He contends that the two candidates have not been up to the country's thirst for leadership. He argues that

the Democrats were in the best position by far to match that need, but Carter blew his natural advantage. Reaching back to Abraham Lincoln to make his point, Burnham said: "Lincoln also ran a campaign on trust and moral uplift. But he tied it to specific issues that people understood and rallied around. The issue was never Lincoln the man. In fact, Lincoln could never have won on personal glamor. Carter personalized his campaign around himself."

Yet it is that very personal Carter

pitch that lifts fieldworkers like Nick Nicholson through the tough days. He views Carter as a public healer. When sour voters challenge him—and they often do—about Carter's fuzziness, he tells them that in the end it is a matter of character. "There's no doubt that voters are cynical," says Nicholson, "but underneath they want to believe so bad." Then he stopped and thought for a moment. "You know, I'm a cynical guy myself," he said, "and I want to believe so bad too."

WHO'S AHEAD STATE BY STATE



Numbers are each state's electoral votes
(Needed to win: 270)

In the last days of the presidential campaign, voter indecision remains the wild card. Jimmy Carter continues to lead, but both sides are nervously aware that any eleventh-hour blunder can cost their man the presidency.

THE EAST. Carter leads in Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island and Washington, D.C. Two of the three largest electoral states in the East—New Jersey and Pennsylvania—still tilt toward Carter. President Ford still leads in New Hampshire and Vermont. Maine, where Independent Governor James Longley last week endorsed Ford, now leans to the President. The races in Connecticut and Delaware are toss-ups.

THE SOUTH. Carter retains a healthy edge in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee. Carter clings to a small lead in Texas. Mississippi leans to Carter. Virginia, which earlier leaned to Ford, and Louisiana are too close to call.

THE MIDWEST. Carter runs well ahead in Kentucky, Minnesota and West Virginia; he has slight leads in Missouri and Oklahoma. Ford leads in Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota and Michigan, though a United Auto Workers blitz for Carter could hurt the President. South Dakota, once in Carter's column, and Indiana now lean to Ford. Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin, where McCarthy is a factor, are toss-ups. So is crucial Ohio, although Carter is believed to be gaining support in the traditionally Republican areas downstate, where his farming background and Southern roots are appreciated.

THE WEST. Carter has the edge in Hawaii. Ford has solid leads in Arizona, Utah, Wyoming and Idaho. Alaska, Washington and Montana tilt toward Ford. New Mexico, which has voted for the winner in every presidential election since it entered the Union in 1912, is too close to call, with perhaps 16% of the voters still undecided. Nevada, Colorado and Oregon are also dead heats. So is the biggest prize of all—California.

PERSONALITIES

FAMOUS FACES IN THE RACES

On a campaign swing through the South, President Ford turned up one day with Alabama Football Coach Paul ("Bear") Bryant at his side. While a crowd watched and TV cameras whirled, Bryant smiled benevolently, reached over and patted the President on the head. "That was worth 100,000 votes in football-crazy Mississippi," said a happy Ford aide later.

Political candidates have always welcomed a pat on the back, or even the head, if it came from a celebrity who could swing some votes. So, too, this year Lest Big Ten football fans feel slighted, the Republicans signed up Ohio State Coach Woody Hayes for a series of pro-Ford radio commercials in the Midwest, and Dallas Cowboys Coach Tom Landry is plugging the President in Texas. In all, more than 100 "Jocks for Jerry"—ranging from Tennis Star Chris Evert and Skater Peggy Fleming to Jockey Willie Shoemaker and New York Yankee Manager Billy Martin—have lent their name to the President's cause.

Carter, too, has his locker-room luminaries—like Tommy Nobis of the Atlanta Falcons and Homer Hero Henry

Aaron. When Jimmy's Atlanta staff phoned to recruit Boston Red Sox Slugger Carl Yastrzemski, however, their pitch went awry. Yaz said he was pretty busy with the Massachusetts campaign of Thomas ("Tip") O'Neill, a leading candidate for Speaker of the House. "Is he a Republican or a Democrat?" asked the Carter scout in Atlanta. "Democrat," replied an incredulous Yaz. "Well, tell him he'd better get on the Carter bandwagon," said the staffer. "In Boston," snapped Yastrzemski, "we think Carter better get on the O'Neill bandwagon."

The Democratic team has scored better with rock stars. Fund-raising concerts by fellow Georgian Gregg Allman helped pay Carter's way in the primaries, and Linda Ronstadt has sung for Jimmy in Southern California. Ford's back-up musicians play more to the Lawrence Welk set, his boosters include Singers Tony Martin, Pat Boone and Vicki Carr. "Jimmy Carter is weird like musicians are supposed to be weird," says Jazzy Trumpeter Al Hirt, "and I don't want anyone like me running the country."

Although the presidential race still looks like a celebrity sweepstakes at times, this campaign differs substantially from those in the past. Star-spangled benefits, which once filled concert halls and provided candidates with quick revenues, have gone the way of Nixon bumper stickers. The reason? The new campaign spending law makes such fund raisers useless.

Apart from a couple of Beverly Hills get-togethers (Actor Warren Beatty was host at one), Carter has steered clear of Hollywood. Such tactics have not pleased the candidate's mother, Robert Redford, who endorses neither candidate, flew to Plains and talked with Miss Lillian, 78. She laments that Paul Newman has not followed suit.

Deprived of their role as political moneymakers, the big names still play the part of crowd pleasers. Earlier this month, G.O.P. Stand-bys Bob Hope, Jimmy Stewart and John Wayne took their bows at Republican National Committee dinners across the country. Last week Woody Allen and Lauren Bacall went to Carter headquarters in New York for some ceremonial phone calling and picture taking. But the effect of the stars on the destiny of candidates is waning. Quipped one Ford worker in Maine: "The only actor we've heard who's doing anything is Ronald Reagan, and he's not coming here."

JOCKS FOR JERRY: FLEMING, EVERT, SHOEMAKER & BRYANT



CARTER FRIENDS: ALLEN, BACALL, REDFORD, ALLMAN & BEATTY



CRIME

AFTER THE DON: A DONNYBROOK?

The Boss of All Bosses was dead, three ruthless racketeers were plotting to replace him, and platoons of hard-eyed "greenies" were waiting for orders to shoot.

The sod had hardly been tamped down on the grave of Mafia King Carlo Gambino last week when a motel near New York's J.F.K. Airport was the scene of an extraordinary meeting. Packed into the basement room 100 strong were the *capos* (captains), *consigliers* (counselors), underbosses and bosses of the five New York Mafia clans that Gambino had ruled directly. Attending, too, were some honored guests from afar, for it was the patient Don Carlo who had maintained order among the 26 families of the national Mafia combine. His word was taken as final judgment on their affairs and squabbles. The problem: how to divide his unprecedented power.

The meeting was quiet, and the conferees moved with diplomatic caution. Well they might: for according to federal officials, there are only three serious contenders for what Don Carlo left behind, and all have frightening reputations. The unholy trio:

► Carmine Galante, 66, nicknamed "Lillo" and "the Cigar." Since getting out of Lewisburg federal penitentiary in 1974, after serving a 15-year sentence for drug trafficking, Galante has controlled the remnants of the Joseph Bonanno family in New York. Says one Mafia source: "Lillo would shoot you in church during high Mass." Galante, it is said, had no respect for Gambino because the latter "never broke an egg in his life." Unverified Mob talk last week went so far as to suggest that Galante ordered his spies within the Gambino family to persuade the *capo di tutti capi* to take a swine-flu shot, knowing that a frail individual with a heart ailment and hardening of the arteries might succumb. According to federal sources, Gambino did get his flu shot shortly before his death.

Galante is believed to have assisted another New York mobster, Anthony ("Tony Ducks") Corallo to regain control of one New York family by helping Corallo arrange the murder last month of its chief, Andiamo Pappadio. Now, according to a Mafia insider, Galante will stop at nothing to take power: "If everybody don't get in line, there's gonna be a lot of heads rolling. Lillo's gonna wipe up the streets with a few people that didn't bow down to him when he come out of the joint [prison] or didn't bow down to him when he was in the joint, even worse."

► Joe Bonanno, 71, Galante's former boss, has managed to retain some of his New York influence. Bonanno, who now lives in Tucson, Ariz., claimed

at the meeting that he was there just to help. Few observers believe his intent was so benign. More probably, he wants to retake control of his old New York family—which his fellow mobsters pushed him out of twelve years ago, when he began to infringe on their turfs—and then grab Gambino's crown. Bonanno's forte is treachery—and innovation. He is credited with inventing the split-level coffin. Instead of leaving his victims for police to find, he would have them taken to a Brooklyn funeral home and put in the lower compartment of a coffin. On top would be someone who died of natural causes. The pair went to the grave together. At one time or another Bonanno has plotted to kill at least four Mafia chiefs, including Gambino, who finally got rid of Bonanno by agreeing to give him the California rackets if he would leave New York.

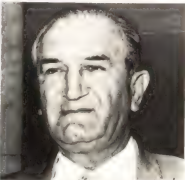
► Aniello Dellacroce (translation: "Little Lamb of the Cross"), 62, who was Gambino's longtime underboss. A legend even among Mafia assassins, Dellacroce relishes doing his own dirty work. Says one federal official: "He likes to peer into a victim's face, like some kind of dark angel, at the moment of death." Dellacroce is a master of disguises. Known throughout the Mob as "Mr. O'Neill," he often donned priest's garb on his troubleshooting assignments for Gambino, earning his other name, "Father O'Neill." Dellacroce's men—undisguised—were at the motel meeting. They said nothing. They didn't have to.

Whoever takes over as Boss of All Bosses, dramatic departures from Gambino's style are certain. Gambino preferred peaceful solutions. He limited membership in the Mafia, ostensibly to lessen the risk that informants might join the families but actually to keep down the numbers he had to oversee. Gambino's would-be successors believe in expanding membership—in part to strengthen their own forces and provide themselves with point men for any future Mafia shootouts. For the past three years, they have brought into the country, via Montreal, a number of young, hardened, reliable Sicilian gangsters called "greenhorns," or "greenies." Finally, Gambino opposed Mob involvement in the narcotics trade, but gangsters like Galante, despite his 15-year drug rap, favor it.

State and federal law-enforcement authorities are prepared for the possibility of a bloody internal struggle within the coming months. With the two top Mafia jobs open—the national leader and the head of the five New York families—the three personalities vying for them, and the "greenies" alerted the calm displayed in the motel basement is unlikely to continue.



CARLO GAMBINO ON HIS WAY OUT



Message to America

from India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi

As part of our Bicentennial observance, TIME asked leaders of nations round the world to address the American people through the pages of TIME on how they view the U.S. and what they hope—and expect—from the nation in the years ahead. This message from Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India is the seventh in the series.

On its Bicentennial I greet the United States of America on behalf of the 600 million people of India. The United States evokes three dominant physical images: its sheer vastness and natural endowment, the vitality and outgoing friendliness of its people, and its immense achievements as a civilization, measured by the profusion of its industrial and agricultural production and the dynamism of its scientific institutions and technological laboratories, symbolized by its space program.

There is a fourth, and inner, dimension that has given the U.S. its place in human history: its dreams and ideals.

Your founding fathers proclaimed the people's liberty and their right to mold their own destiny. Their vision and eloquence inspired Americans and influenced the freedom movements of many countries.

When Jefferson and his co-revolutionaries declared that all men are created equal, they knew that years and miles had to be traversed before the dream could become reality. Some of the greatest Americans—Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt, Martin Luther King—are world figures principally because they strove for the realization of this dream and the extension of the privilege of equality to millions.

America has been the land of opportunity. During the upswing of the industrial revolution, virtually limitless natural resources, security from military vulnerability, access to capital and to the manpower of Europe and Africa helped to expand its wealth. The opening of the West spurred the pioneering spirit of adventure, assertion and toughness. Would America be what it is without the caliber of its women—not only the work they did but the manner in which they sustained the family? Now they have lit the flame of equal rights, which must be a part of the desire of all weaker groups to establish their own identity, a prerequisite for a better humanity. Black Americans have steered through years of humiliation and sufferings with a sense of personal dignity and a rhythm that has contributed much to American development and culture.

Outstanding scientists from numerous countries have significantly added to American creativity. Countless trained technologists continue to be drawn from many parts of the world, advanced as well as developing. Their contribution, no less than the native obsession with short-term results, has enhanced America's power and self-esteem.

Today the U.S. is the top country, with a high opinion of its global responsibilities. There is no part of the world that does not sense American influence. Even societies built on other ideals wish to emulate American standards in material consumption. Not the least contagious of American products are its mass art forms.

All in all, it has been a sustained success story, with few setbacks. This has bred the conviction that what works for America must necessarily be best for others. However, some of its influential thinkers have challenged prevalent assumptions. Poets and playwrights are curiously tentative, if not pessimistic. Young Americans roam in search of new values. Public self-questioning and a capacity for self-correction are indeed among the graces of the American temper.

One must also record America's generous impulse, which has made its people responsive to the troubles of others. Hence many nations expect America to play its part in the building of an equitable economic order and to view with sympathy the efforts of other nations to achieve self-reliance.

Yet the preponderance of political and military power, the national habit of debating issues in a rather fundamentalist way, and the quick fluctuations of mood that characterize American life have made it difficult for American policy formulators and leaders of opinion to be patient with smaller and weaker nations and to appreciate their problems.

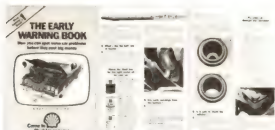
Jawaharlal Nehru once said to Adlai Stevenson: "There is no difficulty in choosing between right and wrong if the question appears in that sense. It does not always appear clearly in that way. Between white and black there are many shades of gray." Perhaps noticing grays comes easier to countries that have gone through long periods of deprivation than to those accustomed to prosperity.

Technology seems to have created an illusion that it is an end in itself and not merely a means. Yet the human spirit and will have prevailed over military and material strength. American rationalization of its own global interests has led to misconceptions about the hold of nationalism in Asia and elsewhere. Even the idea of nonalignment is castigated as unethical, although recent efforts at accord with other countries are recognition of the inescapability of coexistence. In the founding of the United Nations, America knew that world peace and world stability could emerge only through the cooperative endeavor of all of the nations of the earth.

Basically, America's problems are the problems of all mankind: the taming of technology, the containing of violence, the control of bigness, tolerance and respect for human values, and the rediscovery of the ability to live spontaneously in partnership with nature. This is a cooperative quest of all peoples. To this great quest the United States of America will no doubt bring its enormous idealism, its tremendous exuberance and its experience in building institutions that make for social coherence while allowing plenty of room for individual advance. In trying to shape a new order in which all peoples and all nations are truly equal, we need the gift of seeing ourselves as others see us and also the gift of seeing others as they see themselves.

The historic founding of America 200 years ago was, to use a recent but nevertheless famous American phrase, a giant step for mankind. As this great American nation, whose friendship we truly value, now enters its third century, I give it my good wishes.





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DEMONSTRATORS IN PEKING DENOUNCE ARRESTED RADICALS



THE PURGED QUARTET CARICATURED ON A POSTER

THE WORLD

CHINA

The King and the Brigands

Millions of people marching along the broad avenues of Peking and Shanghai. Walls in every city plastered with posters attacking new ideological victims as "traitors," "bandits," "worms" and "vermin." During the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69, that was the way China's radicals denounced their political enemies. Last week, the former persecutors had clearly become victims. Within days after the arrest of the country's top radicals (TIME, Oct. 25), China had been roused to full fighting pitch against them. The marches and mass rallies seemed carefully designed to fuel the myth of a spontaneous, popular uprising against the discredited radical "anti-party clique," as well as to build up a wave of support for Hua Kuo-feng, who was officially proclaimed last week as Mao Tse-tung's successor in the role of Party Chairman.

Demons and Goblins. For the first time, Peking last week identified by name "the Big Four Brigands" and "the Gang of Four" who had been the target of the wall-poster attacks: Mao's widow Chiang Ch'ing and her "Shanghai Mafia" colleagues, Party Vice Chairman Wang Hung-wen, Vice Premier Chang Chun-ch'iao, and Politburo Member Yao Wen-yuan. The New China News Agency announced that the Party Central Committee, headed by Hua, had "adopted resolute and decisive measures to crush the counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique and liquidated a base inside the party." Despite those ominous

words, most Sinologists believe that the four radicals had only been purged and not executed.

The quartet, who apparently had been arrested on Oct. 7, were the "devils, demons and goblins who falsified Chairman Mao Tse-tung's directives and conspired to split the party"—obvious allusions to charges that the radicals had forged quotes from the late Great Helmsman and had tried to assassinate Hua Kuo-feng in a futile attempt to seize power.

Chiang Ch'ing herself was accused on wall posters of trying to murder Mao. Some said she had "nagged" him to death; others claimed she "ignored the

doctor's advice and wanted to move Mao from his sickbed, trying in vain to kill him." The deputy political commissar of Canton also denounced "the self-styled student of our leader"—a reference to the fact that Chiang Ch'ing's wreath at Mao's funeral had been signed "your student and comrade-in-arms." One wall poster in Shanghai bluntly accused Mao's widow—a onetime movie actress—with having been a prostitute in Shanghai in the 1930s.

One initial focus of last week's campaign against the radicals was in Shanghai, which until recently had been their power center. Visitors to the city reported seeing giant caricatures of Chiang Ch'ing and the other purged officials, they were depicted as the four heads of a huge snake that hung from an enormous hammer held aloft by a worker and, at the same time, was being fried in a gigantic pan.

The carefully organized carnival of denunciation then moved to Peking. With cymbals clanging, hands blaring and rockets exploding overhead, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators marched over the cobblestones of Tien An Men Square dutifully shouting "Tao Chiang Ch'ing I Down with Chiang Ch'ing!" Two of the women who were closest to Mao joined in the anti-Chiang Ch'ing chant. One was Mao's favorite niece, Wang Hai-jung, a Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs; the other was American-educated Nancy Tang, the late Chairman's trusted interpreter. Radio

PURGE-VICTIM CHIANG CH'ING



Peking claimed that some 3.3 million people had taken to the streets in the Chinese capital and more than 4 million in Shanghai. In Canton, sessions of that city's twice yearly Trade Fair for foreign businessmen were called off, presumably to allow the people to participate in the campaign.

While street demonstrations gained momentum, Communist Party headquarters in Peking offered some clues to the future direction of the antiradical movement. An editorial in the official *People's Daily* charged that "those who engage in conspiracies and intrigues are the real 'capitalist roaders' in the party." In other words, the purged quartet were not really leftists but rightists in disguise. The radicals had attacked as capitalist roaders former Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the man once slated to succeed the late Chou En-lai as Premier, and thousands of other victims of their own ideological campaigns. Some China watchers speculated that the charges against Chiang Ch'ing and her clique could be a first step toward rehabilitating Teng.

Chinese Proverb. The well-orchestrated campaign was not confined to the Big Four Brigands. All last week word of second-rank leftists who had also been arrested continued to leak out of China. Among them: Vice Education Minister Ch'ih Ch'ün, the head of Peking's Tsinghua University, long a bastion of radical power, and Shanghai Party Secretary Ma T'ien-shui. Ma, the wall posters declared, had plotted to arm the urban militia in order to seize power in Shanghai.

The continuing crackdown on the leftists suggested that Hua Kuo-feng, assisted by moderates and army commanders, was moving rapidly to consolidate his grip on China's tentacles of power. The new party Chairman's next task will probably be to establish his own trademark, creating a distinctive and inspiring style of rule. That may turn out to be difficult for a man who has proved himself so far to be a competent administrator but hardly a charismatic leader in the mold of Mao. Nonetheless for the moment at least, Hua seems to be the triumphant beneficiary of the old Chinese proverb: "He who conquers is crowned king, the vanquished become brigands."

LEBANON

Syrians Win and Palestinians Lose

After 18 months of bloody civil war, at least 37,000 deaths and more than 50 failed cease-fire agreements, last week there were some fresh signs of hope for eventual peace in Lebanon. In Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia, six Arab leaders who are most deeply concerned with the war met at the invitation—or command, considering the weight of his oil subsidies to other Arab nations—of the Saudis' King Khalid. At the end of the two-day summit, the six—Khalid, Sheik Sabah as Salim as-Sabah of Kuwait, the Presidents of Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, and Palestinian Leader Yasser Arafat—had hammered out an agreement that will strengthen Syria's hand as a peacemaker in Lebanon and drastically reduce the fighting power of the hapless Palestinians. Leaders on both sides in the Lebanon fighting hailed the deal as a promising start. "It's the best that could be had under the circumstances," said Lebanese Premier Rashid Karami. As the truce hour approached one morning last week and the first guns went silent, a rainbow broke out in the sky over Beirut. At week's end, the truce was holding with only small and scattered violations.

The first problem faced by the Riyadh summit was not the civil war but the running feud between Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Syria's President Hafez Assad. Their squabbling had seriously hurt chances for peace in Lebanon, since the Egyptians have posed as protectors of the Palestinians while Syrian forces have ended up fighting them. At the urging of other Arab leaders, Assad agreed to stop the flow of "negative propaganda" about Egypt from Damascus, which for months has criticized Sadat for signing Sinai accords with Israel. Sadat agreed to recognize Damascus' right to a kind of neighborly hegemony in Lebanon. There is a force of at least 21,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon, aided by Maronite Christians, in recent weeks they have conquered village after village held by the Palestinians. Sadat and Assad also agreed to re-

sume diplomatic relations, which were suspended in the heat of their feud.

Assad emerged from Riyadh last week with Arab support for his efforts to enforce a peace in Lebanon. The Riyadh agreement called for an Arab peace-keeping force of 30,000 men to police Lebanon. The force is technically to be under the supervision of new Lebanese President Elias Sarkis. At the moment, the only Arab peace-keeping force is a motley army of 2,300 Sudanese, Saudis and Libyans; most of the troops needed to bring the force up to strength will almost certainly come from Syria. The Arab leaders at Riyadh also insisted on enforcing the so-called Cairo agreement of 1969, which limits Palestinian movement within Lebanon. This means that some top Palestinian units—such as the Egypt-based Ain Jalut Brigade and the Yarmouk Brigade, which entered the war from Syria—will be forced to leave the country.

Bitter Defeat. The agreement was not only a victory for Assad but a bitter defeat for Arafat, whose fighting units are now all but immobilized. Nonetheless, the Syrian President and the P.L.O. leader have already moved to patch up relations. *TIME* Correspondent Wilton Wynn learned in Damascus that the two men met in the Syrian capital last week and agreed that hard-line "rejectionist" elements in the Palestinian movement—notably George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—must be eliminated to ensure peace.

The Palestinians also suffered losses on the battlefield as well as on the diplomatic front. In southern Lebanon shortly before the latest cease-fire, Christian forces attacked Moslem towns in the border area long known as "Fatland." Israel, which has already given small arms (*TIME*, Aug. 2) and even tanks—38 U.S.-built Shermans and 33 captured Soviet T-54s—to the Christians, moved several steps further last week. Israeli helicopters flew ammunition to Christians attacking the town of Marjayoun and ferried out casualties to

SUMMIT CONFEREES IN RIYADH (FROM LEFT): EGYPT'S SADAT, SYRIA'S ASSAD, SAUDI ARABIA'S KING KHALID & PALESTINIAN LEADER YASSER ARAFAT



THE WORLD

Israeli hospitals. Israeli paratroops took up crossroads positions around Marjayoun—in sight of Israel—to block off Moslem reinforcements. Israeli artillery along the border, meanwhile, provided fire support for the Christian attackers.

TIMI has also learned that the Israelis have provided the Christian Lebanese with a small navy, whose mission is to intercept ships heading for the remaining Moslem-held port of Sidon. The fleet consists of five gunboats of the Israeli navy Dabur class and three of the smaller Yatush class. According to one Israeli who helped train 100 Lebanese sailors to man them, the boats represent "the first 'Christian' navy in the Mediterranean since the Crusades."

BRITAIN

Good News Amid the Gloom

For the first time since he left office in 1963, former British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan spoke out on day-to-day political affairs last week. In a television interview, he called for "a government of national unity" to lead the country through its latest economic crisis. Macmillan, now 82, recalled the wartime coalition of parties under Winston Churchill. Such a government, the former Tory leader argued, would have enough popular support to take the tough measures necessary to stave off economic collapse. Macmillan declined to name any prospective leader for such a government, but, he added, "somebody will come along, of course."

Macmillan was not the first to offer such a solution to Britain's problems. Ever since the pound took its disastrous nosedive during the last days of September—thereby forcing James Callaghan's Labor government to ask for yet another \$3.9 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund—Britons have been treated to a Cassandra's chorus of elder statesmen appealing for a government of national unity.

Dose of Escapism. In somewhat more veiled fashion, former Prime Minister Edward Heath said much the same thing as Macmillan at the Tories' conference in Brighton earlier this month. Another former Tory minister, Lord Hailsham, recently called for nothing less than scrapping the ancient parliamentary system ("an elective dictatorship") and replacing it with an American-style written constitution.

Laborites and even some Tories dismiss the coalition talk as partisan. "Old men's twaddle," snorted George Gale, the crusty columnist for the *Daily Express*. "What is being offered in all this talk of 'government of national unity' is yet another dose of escapism." Callaghan's predecessor, former Prime Minister Harold Wilson, told TIMI that he opposed such a plan in peacetime because a national government "almost invariably produces fudged decisions."

Moreover, Wilson added, the inclusion of Tories in the government would jeopardize the tenuous working agreement between the Callaghan government and the unions and lead to widespread labor unrest.

More pertinent, perhaps, is the fact that a new poll out last week gives the Tories a 14.8% lead over the Laborites—more than double what it was a month ago. With that figure to encourage her, Tory Leader Margaret Thatcher is aiming at leading Britain's next government rather than playing second fiddle in a Callaghan-led coalition.

Reasons for Optimism. Despite all the doomsday talk, there were some compelling reasons for optimism. British Petroleum, the oil giant that is 48% government-owned, announced that unexpectedly good geological conditions in the North Sea's largest field have enabled the company to increase its production schedule by 25%. At the same time, a survey released by DeGolyer & MacNaughton, an oil consulting firm, forecast a 12% increase in yield from another large North Sea field that is being developed by Occidental Petroleum.

The two announcements sent investment bankers to their calculators to take a fresh look at just how much longer it will be before Britain's seemingly bottomless trade deficit—already \$21 billion for the first nine months of this year—is wiped out by North Sea oil. Some analysts have already concluded that the government's target date of self-sufficiency in oil by 1980 should be moved ahead. The oil is expected to save more than \$1.75 billion off the trade deficit next year, more than \$4 billion in 1978 and \$9 billion by 1980.

These glowing figures tend to support West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's oft-repeated view that the pound sterling, which has dropped 20% in value against the dollar in the past year, is actually undervalued. Says the research director of one of London's biggest merchant banks, "The North Sea will give sterling holders plenty of reason for encouragement if the government can only convince them it won't fritter it away in foolish increases in public spending. Once that message gets across, I wouldn't be surprised to see sterling firm up immediately."

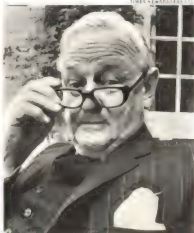
Meanwhile, Callaghan seems to be pinning his hopes on the West Germans. Schmidt recently met with Callaghan; he has agreed that West Germany will give full support for Britain's IMF loan application, much of which will in fact involve German funds. Bonn will also drop its demand for a revalued "green pound," the rate of exchange at which agricultural transactions are conducted within the European Community and that now amounts to a subsidy for British food prices. Thus, as in Italy, the economic clout of the West Germans may well be a decisive political factor in Britain.



HAROLD MACMILLAN



JAMES CALLAGHAN



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SCANDINAVIA

Smuggling Diplomats

Not in years have so many diplomatic *persona* suddenly been declared *non grata*. In Oslo, members of North Korea's diplomatic mission—three bureaucrats and a chauffeur—were given six days to pack up and get out. Foreign Ministry officials frostily informed North Korea's Ambassador to Stockholm, Kil Jae Gyong, who is also accredited to Oslo, that he was no longer welcome in Norway. Similar scenes took place in Helsinki and Copenhagen, and as of last week, twelve North Korean embassy staffers had been unceremoniously ordered home to Pyongyang.

International politics had nothing to do with the abrupt action by the Scandinavian governments. What had happened was that North Koreans in all three countries had been caught red-handed in a massive smuggling racket involving liquor, cigarettes and dope—apparently instigated by the financially hard-pressed government of President Kim Il Sung. Officials in Norway estimated that their branch of the Kim gang had smuggled into the country at least 4,000 bottles of booze (mostly Polish vodka) and 140,000 cigarettes, which were then given surreptitiously to Norwegian wholesalers for distribution on the black market. In Denmark, the illegal goodies impounded so far included 400 bottles of liquor, 4.5 million cigarettes and 147 kilos of hashish, which police confiscated two weeks ago from two Danes who had just bought the drug from North Korean embassy staffers.

Personal Use. How long the North Koreans have been into smuggling as a sideline remains unclear, but Scandinavian officials have been closely watching their business dealings for about five months. In Norway, neighbors of the neat brick North Korean embassy in Oslo's West End had long been puzzled by the constant movement of cars in and out of the compound and by the sight of mission staffers struggling in the backyard with huge mysterious boxes. In Denmark, customs officials got suspicious last month when the North Koreans imported 2.5 million duty-free cigarettes, allegedly for the "personal use" of one staffer.

The discovery of illegal activity by the North Koreans in Scandinavia may be only the iceberg's tip. Five months ago in Cairo, Egyptian officials caught two North Korean diplomats with 400 kilos of hashish in their luggage. A North Korean official assigned to Malaysia has also been recalled after dealing in smuggled goods.

The North Koreans have protested their innocence, and mission staffers in

*Swedish authorities were also investigating the activities of the North Koreans. At week's end, Ambassador Kil and several members of his staff were recalled to Pyongyang to discuss the smuggling charges.



NORTH KOREAN SMUGGLERS AT EMBASSY IN DENMARK & (RIGHT) WITH BOXES IN OSLO



LEAVING COPENHAGEN EMBASSY
Six days to get out.

Finland insisted that they would not leave the country. Nonetheless, Scandinavian officials have little doubt that the smuggling was ordered by Pyongyang as a desperate measure to help resolve the government's horrendous financial crisis. Western experts estimate that North Korea, with a G.N.P. of only \$4.5 billion, has a foreign debt of more than \$2 billion, at least \$500 million of which is owed to the capitalist world. North Korea not only maintains some 60 expensive missions abroad but also buys millions of dollars' worth of advertising space in newspapers round the world every year to publicize the latest speeches of Kim Il Sung. Faced with a severe shortage of hard Western currency, officials speculate, North Korean diplomats turned to smuggling to support their missions and pay for the ads, sending any excess profits home to Pyongyang.

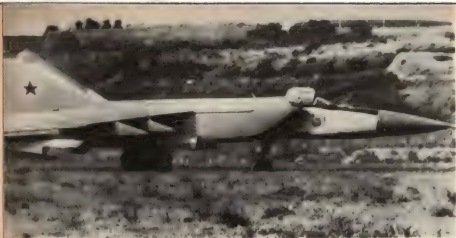
INTELLIGENCE

Bonanza or Bust?

When a Russian pilot flew a MiG-25 to northern Japan last month and asked for political asylum in the U.S., CIA Director George Bush hailed the defection as an "intelligence bonanza." According to euphoric Pentagon spokesmen, an examination of the plane and interrogation of the pilot would yield vital secrets about Soviet air-weapons technology. But U.S. experts who were dispatched to Japan for a three-week study of the aircraft have come to a different and surprising conclusion: the much-touted superplane brought to the West by Soviet Air Force 1st Lieut. Viktor Belenko is, in many respects, a clunker.

Country Tinker. The plane turned out to be a crude, early version of the Foxbat, which the Russians designed 15 years ago to bring down the supersonic B-70, a U.S. bomber that never became operational. Belenko's MiG was equipped with obsolescent electronic targeting and radar systems. Its maximum range of 1,200 miles was short compared with the American F-4 Phantom fighter's 2,100 miles. Belenko's plane was also vastly inferior to the reconnaissance version of the Foxbat, which the U.S. has tracked over much longer ranges in the Middle East. Perhaps the most striking anomaly on Belenko's aircraft was the patches clumsily riveted to the plane's surface. Said one bemused U.S. aerodynamics expert: "Those repairs looked like a country tinker had gone to work patching up a pot."

Though beat-up and even rusty in spots, Belenko's plane nonetheless had two immensely powerful Tumansky engines that are as advanced as anything made by General Electric or Rolls-Royce. U.S. experts were impressed by the engines' lubrication system and by the Soviets' highly sophisticated forging techniques. But one crucial element of the MiG-25 was missing: the four air-to-



THE SOVIET FOXBAT MIG-25 AFTER IT LANDED ON HOKKAIDO ISLAND LAST MONTH

air missiles the plane ordinarily carries. Probably to increase his speed, the Soviet pilot had flown his plane to the West while on a training flight without the heavy weapons that experts need to calculate the Foxbat's true military capability. Belenko himself was of less help than intelligence had hoped. Although he was apparently cooperating with his U.S. interrogators in a "safe house" near Washington, it seemed unlikely that he knew anything more than the mechanics of his plane.

Clearly, the bonanza had turned into something of a bust for the Pentagon. The once legendary MiG-25 no longer provided so strong an argument for obtaining more appropriations for the U.S. fighter fleet. Michigan Democrat Robert Carr, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, declared that "as a demonstration of technology [the MiG-25] calls into serious question the Pentagon claims of mushrooming Soviet military gains."

Angry Soviets. Some Washington analysts were even speculating that Belenko and his rough-and-ready flying machine might have been a deliberate Russian plant, designed to show that the U.S. Air Force has been overresponding to an imagined Soviet threat in weaponry. Others speculated that the Russians wanted the Japanese to let U.S. experts examine their plane. According to this scenario, such anti-Soviet action provided Moscow with an excuse to postpone indefinitely an agreement with Tokyo over the four strategic Kurile Islands, which were seized by the Russians in 1945. "It's far out, but that's how the Soviets think," said one senior State Department official last week.

Apparently unperturbed, the Japanese prepared last week to return the Foxbat to the Russians. The angry Soviets will send a freighter to take delivery of their aircraft at the port of Hitachi. The Japanese coolly demanded that the Russians compensate them for facilities damaged when Belenko overran the runway on Hokkaido and for the expense of dismantling, crating and transporting the plane from Hyakuri airbase, 90 miles north of Tokyo, to Hitachi.

LATIN AMERICA

The Exile Bombers

A few minutes after taking off from Barbados airport on Oct. 6, the pilot of Cubana de Aviación Flight 455 radioed that there had been an explosion on his plane and that he was heading back. He never made it. Carrying 73 passengers and crew, including Cuba's crack Olympic fencing team, the flaming DC-8 nosedived into the Caribbean. There were no survivors.

The sabotage of the Cuban jet produced some intriguing international ripples. In Havana, an angry Fidel Castro blamed the bombing on the CIA and announced that he was suspending the 1973 antihijacking accord with the U.S. Regarded as a promising diplomatic ice-breaker when it was signed, the treaty was the only official agreement ever reached between the U.S. and Cuba's "maximum leader."

Castro was apparently wrong about direct CIA involvement, which was forcefully denied by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Subsequent investigation has shown that the sabotage was carried out by a fanatic underground network of Cuban exiles known as CORU (*Coordinación de Organizaciones Revolucionarias Unidas*), which was organized early this year as an umbrella for diehard anti-Castro activists. Among its founders was a shadowy pediatrician turned terrorist, Dr. Orlando Bosch.

Since its inception, CORU has tried to sever Castro's growing ties with other Caribbean nations and freeze U.S.-Cuban relations in a state of permanent hostility. In pursuit of that goal, the clandestine terrorists have bombed and shot up Cuban offices in Jamaica, Barbados, Costa Rica, Panama, Trinidad and Mexico; in an abortive attempt in July to snatch a Cuban consul in Yucatán, the terrorists instead killed a visiting Cuban fisheries expert. More shockingly, CORU apparently arranged the bombing-murder in Washington last month of former Chilean Ambassador Orlando Letelier (TIME, Oct. 4).

The first clue to the identity of the

THE WORLD

airline bombers came from a taxi driver in Trinidad who overheard two Spanish-speaking passengers discussing the Cubana "accident" shortly after the crash. Port of Spain police found that the pair had checked in—without luggage—at the downtown Holiday Inn. The two men, Freddie Lugo and Hernán Ricardo Losano, were traveling on Venezuelan passports; they had been on the arriving-passenger list of the ill-fated airliner in Barbados earlier in the day, but then flew back to Trinidad. After deplaning, investigators found, the pair placed a call to Orlando Bosch in Caracas. On their arrest, the two claimed to be employees of a Caracas detective agency headed by Luis Posada Carriles, former head of the operations arm of the Venezuelan secret police. Known as "Inspector Vasilio," Posada had been trained by the CIA in antiguerrilla warfare and demolition.

Tipped off by Trinidadian officials who had interrogated Lugo and Losano, Venezuelan police pounced on Posada's offices and raided his fortress-like home in the suburbs. The police claim to have found "documents and material" linking Posada to Lugo and Losano and other CORU operations.

Fanatical Activist. The Venezuelans also corralled 14 leading anti-Castro activists, including CORU Ringleader Bosch. A militant anti-Communist, Bosch, who has given up his medical career, brags of leading 1,000 anti-Castro guerrillas in Cuba's Las Villas province. After fleeing to Miami in 1960, he earned a reputation as a fanatical exile activist. He was jailed in Miami in 1968 for a bazooka attack on a Polish ship that traded with Cuba, then paroled from a ten-year sentence in 1972. Bosch jumped parole two years later to wander through Latin America, organizing anti-Castro

BOSCH AFTER 1968 ARREST IN MIAMI





Riviera rides again.

1977 BUICK RIVIERA. Fourteen years ago, we came out with a very special Buick. It was an automobile designed to live in two different worlds—that of the luxury car, that of the road car. We called it Riviera. and lavished much technology and affection on it. In the process, we created a classic.

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Its smooth, quiet ride is coupled with an ability to be tough in the corners. To respond with precision. To give its driver a sense of the road.

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But as we indicated earlier, for all its roadability Riviera is a most satisfyingly elegant and luxurious automobile.

For instance, while Riviera satisfies a serious driver's demand for agility, it also has more front and rear headroom than last year. And more rear legroom. (Not to mention more trunk room.) There is now 50/50 front seating with twin armrests. Rich velour fabrics. And a highly functional instrument panel.

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we can get for
American industry,**

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country will be.**

Our national economic well-being depends upon a complex industrial system that furnishes jobs to provide products, services and a supportive tax base for public institutions. And that system depends on energy.

As our economy grows, our energy requirements grow to support the greater rate of employment. Since 1960, industry alone has increased its use of oil from 8 million barrels to 12 million barrels a day. But too much of that oil comes from foreign sources. If we can reduce our dependence on imported oil, we will all be better off. In fact, a recent study indicates that incentives to shift 2 million barrels per day from foreign to domestic sources could create more than 700,000 jobs in the U.S.

Standard Oil and other energy producers have the know-how and the manpower to develop U.S. energy sources. But we still need national policies that allow energy producers to be able to make long-range commitments. Finding new energy won't be easy, and it won't be quick. We have to be in a position that holds promise for private investment, because more expensive technology and more capital than ever will be needed.

Today, Standard is directing the full extent of its resources at one main objective: to help create more American jobs with more American energy.

Our job is you.



Standard Oil Company (Indiana)



actions and dodging arrest. Earlier this year, Bosch played a central role in evolving CORU's terrorist strategy. "People compulsorily cut off from freedom," Bosch says, "have a right to use any means to regain their liberty."

To force Bombardiers Lugo and Losano and Organizers Posada and Bosch to talk, Trinidadian and Venezuelan authorities simply threatened to deport them to Cuba, which would mean certain execution. Losano cracked first, confessing that he had left an explosive-laden camera case aboard the Cuban airliner before disembarking in Barbados. Confronted with street maps of the area in Washington where Letelier was killed and with other evidence found in Posada's home and office, Bosch told police that CORU had ordered two of its U.S.-based agents to carry out the Letelier "hit." The Venezuelans also found that Bosch and other CORU agents were behind many, if not most, of this year's hitherto mysterious anti-Castro bombings around the Caribbean.

SPAIN

Suárez on the High Wire

Premier Adolfo Suárez González once described himself as "a tightrope walker." And with some reason. Since his appointment by King Juan Carlos nearly four months ago, Suárez, 44, has had to balance pressures from rightists, leftists and regional separatists while trying to guide Spain from Franco-era authoritarianism to a new age of democracy. He has also had to cope with a deteriorating economy and a rash of demonstrations, strikes and violence.

Last week Suárez began his riskiest high-wire venture yet by submitting a long-awaited political reform bill to the 561-member Cortes (parliament), still a

conservative bastion. The measure would go a long way toward turning Spain into a parliamentary democracy. The Cortes—in which less than one-fifth of the deputies are popularly elected—would be replaced by a two-house legislature. One would be a popularly elected lower chamber of 350 seats, allotted on a proportional basis, and the other an upper house representing Spain's 51 provinces that would have 244 members, 40 of them appointed by the King, the rest to be elected by the people.

New Constitution. If approved by the Cortes, the reform plan must be voted on in a national referendum, possibly as soon as December. If all goes well, elections for the legislature will be held by next summer. The first task of the two houses will be to draw up a new constitution that presumably will define the rights of the King, the specific powers of the two houses and the manner in which a Premier is chosen and dismissed.

Understandably unwilling to relinquish its powers and privileges, the men of "the Bunker"—diehard, archconservative Francoists—have attacked Suárez's reform. They want the bill altered to grant more powers to the Council of the Realm, an appointive 17-man body that advises the King. The Francoists also insist on an appointed upper house based on the Franco-style corporate system, rather than a popularly elected one. Because of the Bunker's opposition and the recent emergence of a center-right alliance of parties, Suárez may have to accept some modifications in order to obtain the two-thirds majority necessary for passage of the bill. Suárez had previously antagonized archconservatives by, among other things, taking the first steps toward the legalization of trade unions and all political parties except the Communists.

Opposition leftists are divided about the Premier's reforms. Some say that the

measures Suárez has taken so far are too timid and want an immediate election of a constituent assembly. Others concede that the reform bill is a step toward the kind of free society demanded by the Democratic Coordination, an umbrella group that includes Communists, Socialists and left-wing Christian Democrats. But the organized left has boxed itself in with a public vow not to cooperate with any Spanish regime until the Communist Party is made legal—something that the rightists will probably be able to block, perhaps until the elections for the legislature. Frustrated by criticism from both sides, Suárez complains that "the left does not stop fighting a past that no longer exists and a part of the right does not stop crying over a past that will not return." Still, the Premier might succeed in his cautious program for making Spain more liberal; he is strongly backed by the popular Juan Carlos and there is a widespread desire for change.

General Strike. Suárez is embattled on the economic as well as on the political front. The leftist-dominated trade unions called for a day-long general strike on Nov. 12 to protest the government's austerity program. Spain has a 20% annual rate of inflation and more than 6% unemployment; it is also heading toward a \$3 billion balance of payments deficit for the second straight year. To help out the economy, Suárez has frozen wages and prices and suspended a law preventing financially distressed companies from laying off workers. Leftists charge that the program goes too far and poses a "serious threat" to workers' interests; some businessmen argue that the program is not bold enough. Until a referendum gives him something approaching a popular mandate, Suárez will probably have to continue with a brand of tightrope policies that seem to satisfy neither left nor right.

ANGRY ULTRA-RIGHTISTS GIVE FASCIST SALUTE AT RECENT GATHERING IN MADRID



PREMIER ADOLFO SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ





YORK AS ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

John the Baptist had some difficult days. So did—on a modest scale—**Michael York**, who plays the prophet's role in **Franco Zeffirelli's** *The Life of Jesus*. "We shot the prison scenes in a real dungeon in a castle in Tunisia," recalls York. "I spent the day actually chained to the wall. It wasn't hard to feel the part." For his final scene at King Herod's banquet, of course, York could appear only in the form of an elaborately made-up piece of sculpture, which enabled him to observe. "I had the privilege of seeing my own head right there on the plate."

Now that everyone knows about **Jimmy Carter's** lustful thoughts, it is apparently hard for a female journalist to resist asking for more details. As **Barbara Howard** put it after interviewing the Democratic candidate: "I [told] him that if he is pressed to be more specific about his list of the many women he has lusted after in his heart. I would certainly appreciate being mentioned." Not one to be overlooked, Harvard Professor **Doris Kearns Goodwin**, author of *London Johnson and the American Dream*, popped the same question while interviewing Carter in August for the *Ladies Home Journal* and three other women's magazines. Though *Playboy's* piece was not yet out, she says she had



PEDIATRIC SAGE SPOCK & NEW BRIDE FILLING OUT MARRIAGE FORMS IN LITTLE ROCK

heard about its most memorable lines and asked Carter: "Are you feeling lust now?" The candidate, who has on occasion been accused of waffling, wiggling and wavering, giggled and wavered for a bit and then said he "didn't seem to know."

Rock fans remember her as the winsome, barefooted young Mama belting out pop hits with the Mamas and the Papas a decade ago. In London these days, **Michelle Phillips**, 32, is trying a different tune, playing **Natacha Rambova**, the haughty wife of the legendary screen lover in **Ken Russell's** film *Valentino*. With Ballet Star **Rudolf Nureyev**, 38, cast as Valentino, the relationship is somewhat different from the original. The driven Rambova constantly badgered her "Rodolpho" to make bigger films, then walked out on him in a fit of pique. This time round, it's Nureyev who keeps demanding more effort. Says Phillips: "When we were on location in Spain, he kept coming around to the dinner tables every night saying it would be a good idea to rehearse some more. Nureyev loves to work."

When Dr. **Benjamin Spock** published his *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* back in 1946, Mary Morgan was eight years of age, just about old enough to benefit from Spock's amiable counsel on her entire generation. Three decades later, **Mary Morgan Councille** is an organizer of conferences, a divorcee and, as of last week, the second Mrs. Spock. The recently divorced doctor, now 73 and a vice-presidential candidate for the microscopic People's Party, met his bride last year while participating in one of her conferences on "the

use and abuse of power." That weekend, says Spock, "we fell madly in love." For the wedding in Little Rock, Ark., the county clerk's office presented the couple with its standard gift: a bag containing mouthwash, deodorant and window-cleaning spray.

"This is part of a great lost tradition, the meanwhile-back-at-the-fore film," **Gene Hackman** boasts of his new



MICHELLE PHILLIPS ON THE SET OF VALENTINO



FOREIGN LEGIONNAIRE HACKMAN

movie. Cheerfully titled *March or Die*, the picture features Hackman as a West Pointer who finds a commission in the French Foreign Legion and trouble in the Sahara between archaeologists and Arabs. Hackman grumbles: "A whole generation has grown up without ever seeing a Foreign Legion film. Today kids think the only thing on the other side of a sand dune is an oil well." His new role as a French connection, desert style, will surely set them straight. Says Hackman: "I'm a cross between **George Patton** and **Charles de Gaulle** with sand in his *pommes frites*."

After earning fame and a few bruises with his pratfall impressions of **President Ford** on NBC's *Saturday Night*, Comedian **Chevy Chase** has stumbled onto

something really big. It is "a multithousand-dollar deal that will run into seven figures over a period of time," says Chase, who will leave *S.N.* after the Oct. 30 show and become a writer, producer and star of NBC specials (with the possibility of making movies as well). Among the subjects he will tackle, adds the comedian, is TV itself: "anything that rings of the cliché and sham, which is what most of television is." Abandoning his old show will be something of a wrench, says Chevy, but "it's like leaving one love affair for another, and we all must move along."

In his 1972 expose, a book called *O Congress*, Michigan Democratic Representative **Don Riegle**, 38, spoke disapprovingly of Congressmen ("even elderly members") on the make. "The fact

that a member might be married makes no difference at all," eluded Riegle. So the Congressman was understandably distressed last week when the *Detroit News* unearthed some 1969 taped conversations between the married Riegle (he divorced and remarried in 1972) and someone in his office code-named Dorothy. The tapes, the authenticity of which Riegle does not dispute, describe an "exquisite session" enjoyed by the Congressman and Dorothy. In one conversation, he complains about having to attend "a lousy subcommittee hearing" and agrees to put off anything for Dorothy, "even a presidential appointment." Riegle, who once had hopes of running for President some day, called the disclosure a "most vicious hatchet job" and added that he is "not a perfect human being." At the moment, he is

(L) BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS; (R) BY PHILIP HART



CONGRESSMAN RIEGLE WITH WIFE MEREDITH AT PRESS CONFERENCE ON HIS TAPES

campaigning for the Senate seat vacated by Philip Hart, and his seven-point lead over Opponent Marvin Esch shows signs of slipping. The Dorothy tapes will hardly help.

The Japanese mother playing happily with her child looks as if she had all the time in the world. Actually, **Crown Princess Michiko** of Japan stole a few moments from her hectic schedule to celebrate her 42nd birthday with **Princess Nori**, 7, the youngest of her three children, and Nori's pet dogs (they are *chin*, Japanese spaniels). In honor of the occasion, the crown princess granted a rare press conference and told reporters about her official visits this year to Yugoslavia, Jordan and Britain. As for the royal birthday, the princess joked: "You know, my classmates hate this time each year when news of my birthday appears in the papers. It gives things away."



TWO PRINCESSES AT PLAY

America's Nobel Sweep

Ever since the ancient Greeks, scientists have been seeking to identify and understand the basic building blocks and structure of matter. Last week Sweden's Royal Academy of Sciences honored three Americans whose discoveries have advanced this understanding. It awarded the 1976 Nobel Prize in Physics to Burton Richter of Stanford University and Samuel C.C. Ting of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for their investigations of subatomic particles, and gave the chemistry prize to William Lipscomb of Harvard University for his work in explaining the structure of the chemicals called boranes. Together with the previous awards of the medicine prize to Baruch Blumberg of Philadelphia's Institute for Cancer Research and Carleton Gajdusek of the National Institutes of Health, and the economics prize to Economist Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago (TIME, Oct. 25), last week's winners gave the U.S. a clean sweep of the 1976 Nobel science awards.

For Richter, 45, and Ting, 40, who will share the \$162,140 physics award, recognition came much sooner than to most Nobel laureates, who often wait a decade or longer before the importance of their work is acknowledged by the Royal Academy. The two physicists won their prize for discoveries reported two years ago. In November 1974 Ting, who had been working at New York's Brookhaven National Laboratory, visited Richter at Stanford and told him he had just discovered a new member of the "subatomic zoo," the ever growing list of tiny particles identified in experiments with giant atom-smashing machines. Ting was startled to get instant confirmation of his finding; Richter had independently discovered the same particle in his own laboratory.

Charmed Particle. The bit of matter, called the J particle by Ting and the psi particle by Richter, gave solid experimental support to the evolving theory that the basic building blocks of matter are a family of particles called quarks. It provided strong evidence for the existence of the fourth quark, one that has the property that scientists whimsically call "charm." Since the simultaneous findings by Richter and Ting, at least seven more members of the J, or psi, particle family have been discovered, further strengthening the quark theory.

A quiet, intense man who commutes between MIT and the giant particle accelerator at the European Nuclear Research Center (CERN) in Geneva, Switzerland, where he is now conducting experiments, Ting was not surprised at the news of his award. The discovery of the J particle, he says frankly, was "revolutionary." Brooklyn-born Richter,

who plays squash to keep his weight under control, took his sudden fame philosophically. Says he of his discovery: "I see no immediate practical application of this discovery except in improving the understanding of the universe." But he also remembers that Lord Rutherford the great British physicist who first described the structure of the atom, doubted that his findings would prove practical too.

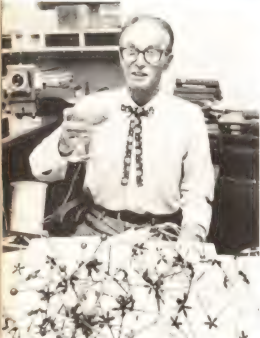
Triple Crown. Lipscomb, 56, learned of his award when his students burst into his cluttered office to congratulate him. He was inspired to do the work that led to his Nobel, he recalls, when as a graduate student at the California Institute of Technology, he heard his professor, Linus Pauling—who has since won the Nobel chemistry and peace prizes—explain how boron compounds were bound together chemically. Intrigued by what seemed an incomplete explanation, he used Pauling's own techniques to study the compounds further. He discovered that boranes, the complex chemicals that combine boron and hydrogen molecules were, bonded differently from other chemicals. That discovery led to his finding that borane molecules were polyhedral, or many-sided, and to a new understanding of how a host of new chemical compounds could be constructed.

Lipscomb's work could have an impact on medicine, experiments are under way in the use of boranes in cancer therapy, and Lipscomb is now using his techniques to determine how digestive enzymes work. Lipscomb is as many faceted as his molecules; he is a tennis buff, plays the clarinet in local chamber orchestras, and is a genuine Kentucky colonel. His own concern about his Nobel: "I'm afraid everyone will think I'm finished, but I still have so much more to do."

Other American scientists also have much to do if they want the U.S. to continue to dominate the international science olympics. 26 of the 56 physics Nobel laureates in the past 20 years have been Americans, and the U.S. has twice before captured the triple crown by winning the Nobel prizes for physics, chemistry and medicine. But their competitors may start catching up. M.I.T. President Jerome Wiesner, for one, says that European and Japanese science is "on the upswing, and we should expect to see the balance change in their direction." At the same time, he feels, U.S. science is being hampered by budget squeezes, causing U.S. scientists to waste their intellectual resources looking for handouts. Says he: "The whole climate is unhealthy. When you are in a car you can tell if it is accelerating or decelerating. We in the science car know that, even though it is still running pretty well, it is decelerating."



STANFORD PHYSICIST BURTON RICHTER

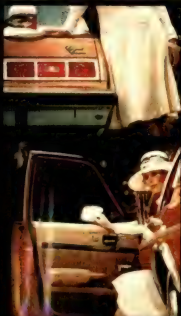


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Wyeth's Cold Comfort

The exhibition of 300 paintings and drawings by Andrew Wyeth that opened last week at New York's Metropolitan Museum is bound to be successful. That, in the Met's eyes, means so jammed with people that the art will be virtually invisible. At 59, Wyeth is the most popular, perhaps the only popular "serious" artist in America. For the past 20 years his elaborately finished tempera paintings of the landscapes and neighbors around his winter farm in Pennsylvania and his summer house in Maine have become indistinguishable, for an enormous public, from a dream of vanished moral rectitude. Every split clapboard reveals the American grain; each shot deer and plucked blueberry suggests the frontier. The faces of Wyeth's cast of bucolic characters—the Kuerners in Pennsylvania, the Ericksons and Olsons in Maine—are almost as familiar, though less physiognomical, to his audience as those of Johnny Carson, Richard Nixon or Bugs Bunny. Moreover, everything is distinct. One gets every last blade of grass on the cold hill, delivered in low, muted colors that suggest a kind of flinty and puritan sincerity. Small wonder, then, that a large public considers Wyeth the Great American Artist—or that the opposition to him has been, in some quarters, as violent and irrational as the worship. For it is also the custom to attack Wyeth as a mere illustrator, dazing the midcult beast with a mixture of sentimentality and cold manual tricks.

Inside the exhibition, one wonders what all the fuss has been about. Wyeth is clearly what used to be called a *petit-maitre*. He has staked out a small and somewhat predictable area of visual sensation, a narrow range of images, ideas and colors, and worked it so thoroughly as to exclude all followers. Some mem-

orable works have resulted. The close and beautifully exact tonal painting of a landscape like *Brown Swiss* (1957)—"I wanted it to be almost like the tawny brown pelt of a Brown Swiss bull," he tells Met Director Thomas Hoving in the catalogue text—is not the work of small talent, and there are few American portraits that display such a stoic and irreducible density, pore by pore, as the bald head of *The Finn* (1969).

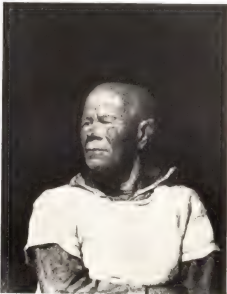
Embalmed with Paint. The detailed, stroked, sandpapered, flecked surface of Wyeth's tempera painting—"weaving" is his own word for it—conveys an obsessive sense of scrutiny. "I really like tempera because it has a cocoon-like feeling of dry lossiness—almost a lonely feeling. There's something incredibly lasting about the material, like an Egyptian mummy, a marvelous beehive or hornet's nest." Paint embalms the objects on Wyeth's cold-comfort farms; it stresses their distance from one another and from the eye. Combined with his fondness for large legible shapes and photographic cropping, it can produce arresting images.

The show's weakness is its monotony. Director Hoving, who was obliged to step in as his own guest curator when the Met's curator of 20th century art, Henry Geldzahler, refused to touch the show, has given Wyeth the kind of treatment that only major draftsmen merit. Each painting is surrounded by a flock of its studies and sketches that reveal the working method, the small adjustments, tunings and abstractions that come between the first view and the final painting. If Wyeth were Rubens the spectacle would be fascinating. But since he seems to work upward from illustration and his capable brisk notes are mostly unremarkable as drawing, the cumulative effect of all those little brown studies is numbing.

Starting with Jackson Pollock, one can easily think of a dozen modern American artists who have not had retrospectives at the Met but whose works possess richer cultural and historical meaning than Wyeth's. Why, then, the immense accolade? The reason is simply box office. The Metropolitan Museum hopes to make at least \$2 million from the sales of Wyeth catalogues and souvenir reproductions alone. To ram the point home, a boutique has been set up at the show's exit, and visitors have no choice but to run the gauntlet. Hard-sell Hoving strikes again; and one sees another small but distinct step in the Met's transformation from the greatest encyclopedic museum in America into a grandiose West Side extension of Bloomingdale's.

Robert Hughes

THE FINN: A HEAD OF STOIC DENSITY



BROWN SWISS: "ALMOST LIKE THE TAWNY BROWN PELT OF A BROWN SWISS BULL"





REDS' DAN DRIESSEN TIPTOES TO A STAND-UP DOUBLE



YANKEE CATCHER THURMAN MUNSON DIVES FOR A POP-UP

SPORT

Chilling the Yankees

The Cincinnati Reds came to the World Series seeking their legend. The Big Red Machine was the reigning world champion, victor over the Boston Red Sox in one of baseball's most thrilling World Series ever. They had just demolished the Philadelphia Phillies in three straight games for the National League pennant. By the time they took the field against the American League's Designated Luddites, the New York Yankees, they were playing for their place in the pantheon of the game's great teams. When the four-game sweep of the hapless Yanks was over, they had it.

The Machine hammered home its superiority with each game. Manager Sparky Anderson apologized for the rather humdrum manner in which the Reds won the opening game. Said Anderson of the 5-1 victory: "I don't think we played very exciting baseball. We ought to be more aggressive." For the Reds, lack of aggression meant stealing only one base. A seamless defense purloined potential Yankee hits, and strong Red arms kept New York base runners back on their heels. Outfielders George Foster, Cesar Geronimo and Ken Griffey fired balls back to the infield so quickly and so accurately that no Yankee was able to stretch a base hit. The pattern of the Series had emerged: the Yankees stopped at third.

In the second game, the Reds' relentless ability to pressure mistakes told the tale. In the bottom of the ninth, the game was tied 3-3 when Griffey streaked toward first on a slow grounder. The hurried Yankee shortstop threw wide

and Griffey cruised into second. From there he scored on Tony Perez's single. Perez has driven in at least 90 runs in each of the past ten seasons, yet he is the perennial subject of trade talk. This year Dan Driessen, 25, who was the Reds' designated hitter in the Series, is believed ready to replace him at first. Driessen and Perez, 34, worked to make decisions difficult, both hitting better than .300 during the Series.

Radio Free Yankees. If the second-game loss on an error broke Yankee hearts, the third game crushed them. After a first-inning pick-off, no Yankee base runner so much as leaned toward second base. Pining the New Yorkers back with superb defense—aided by sloppy Yankee fielding—the Reds ran up a 6-2 win. Another Perez play typified the Reds' call on greatness. With runners on first and second and no outs, Perez made a leaping catch of a rifled line drive. He ignored the easy tag on the runner at first and fired to second to double up Speedster Mickey Rivers. The runner in scoring position was wiped out, and, with him, the Yankees' last hope for a rally.

The Reds were at their best when threatened most seriously. In the fourth and final game, the Yankees came briefly to life, putting runners in scoring position regularly for the first time. But the Reds' defense choked off Yankee opportunities when it mattered, and the Series' Most Valuable Player, Johnny Bench, homered twice first to give the Reds the lead, then, with two men on, to put the game away in the ninth inning. The Cincinnati Reds were champions again: 7-2, four games to none.

So commanding were the Reds that the principal excitement of the Series came off the field. Commissioner Bowie Kuhn's contributions to the game may be debatable, but he has certainly boosted flu vaccinations this year. Offered an additional \$750,000 by NBC if he would schedule Sunday's game for evening prime time, Kuhn accepted on behalf of baseball's coffers. Fans shivered in 40° weather while players carried their bats into the clubhouse between innings to keep them warm enough to grip. Only the Reds' Pete Rose was unconcerned. Said he: "I don't care if it snows. Playing in the World Series is the reason why I went to spring training."

The one challenge the Yankees mounted was to the not too terrible ire of Commissioner Kuhn. Yankees' Manager Billy Martin had requested permission to place a spotter with a walkie-talkie in the stands to help position his fielders. The scheme was approved for one man, but the Reds detected three operatives wired for sound and complained. Kuhn put Radio Free Yankees off the air for the first game, but, in a compromise generous enough to be wished in the Middle East, authorized two scouts for remaining games.

During the fracas, CB Fan Johnny Bench used radio jargon to downplay the importance of short wave in baseball. Said Bench: "It still comes down to the fact that someone has to throw the ball, someone has to hit it, and someone has to catch it. Do you copy, good buddy?" In the 1976 World Series, the Cincinnati Reds proved that they throw and hit and catch well enough to be copied into baseball lore.

BYPLAY/ROGER KAHN

Sing One Happy Song, Johnny

He is, quite simply, the best catcher in baseball history, after which simplicity ends when one considers Johnny Lee Bench of Binger, Okla., and Cincinnati "Binger," Bench says, with only the smallest curl of smiles, "is easy to find. It's half a mile back of Resume Speed."

Bench is powerful, handsome, poised, witty, and possessed of an exceptional intelligence. "I was valedictorian of my class at Binger High School," he says. Again the small smile lights his broad face. "Of course, you can ruin that by writing something else. There were only 21 in my graduating class."

At the age of 28, he is already a folk hero on merit, and Reuben Katz, his attorney, hopes to make Bench a millionaire before John becomes 30. Bench sings. He sings on key and with a quiet intensity, but all the songs are sad. One tells of a broken marriage. In another an old man is bereft of everything but a dog and watermelon wine. A third describes young people who are desperate in a wash of ruined dreams.

"Can you sing a happy one?" someone asked last week in Sardi's as Bench and the Reds were continuing their assault on the New York Yankees.

"Oh, sure," Bench said, and presently we braved the night, where truck-drivers for the New York Times fell upon him demanding autographs and offering one free copy of the paper as thanks. It was late and he was tired and he signed for everyone who asked. But he had not thought of a happy song.

Last week's baseball did not shape up as a classic World Series. My fearless forecast liked the Reds in three. I

JOHNNY BENCH AT THE PLATE



know you need four victories to win a series, but I thought the Reds would win the first three games. Then the Yankees would descend into communal depression, drink hard liquor and fail to show up for Game 4.

Within certain limits, the Series followed The Forecast. The Reds are gloriously gifted young men, performing with flair under George Anderson, white-haired at 42, who once sold cars in the yellow air of Van Nuys, Calif.

In the first inning of the first game, Joe Morgan proclaimed his presence by hitting a home run. In the second inning, Lou Piniella of the Yankees doubled to right and took third on an infield out. Piniella assumed a modest lead. Bench fired a pick-off throw to Pete Rose. Piniella was safe by a millimeter. Now the Yankees had seen Johnny Bench's arm. With one out in the sixth, Mickey Rivers, the speed of the Yankees, reached first. He tried to steal and Morgan was a shade slow covering second. Bench started to throw. He held the ball and waited. Then he fired. This was the 24th consecutive postseason game in which no one would steal a base off Johnny Bench.

By the time we got to Sardi's, the Reds were leading the Series, three games to none. Bench was batting over 500 and yes, he conceded, intimidation was a factor in the game. But he didn't much want to talk baseball. His divorce from a model called Vickie Chessner had almost been resolved, and he preferred to enjoy a New York night.

"The song you liked," he said, "is by the Statler Brothers. They're from West Virginia, but it could be Binger." He offered a slow, dramatic recitation:

*Tommy's selling used cars
Nancy's fixing hair
Harry runs a grocery store,
And Margaret doesn't care
And the Class of '57 had their
dreams.*

*We all thought we'd change the
world
With our great works and deeds
Or maybe we just hoped the world
Would change to fit our needs
Oh, the Class of '57 had its
dreams.*

I don't know if you can change the world by catching baseball games with Mr. Bench's excellence. But if we keep our minds and spirits open, we can all learn from this glittering, poignant American youth from Oklahoma.

Hell, if he signed on for three debates with Gerald Ford or Jimmy Carter, my forecast would be Johnny Bench in one.



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MOUTON CADET
Red and White

Welcome to the Great Black Way!

When the nation's first black theater group opened in New York City in 1821, race-baiting whites in the audience proved so unruly that the company had to close down. Broadway today is witness to an explosion of all-black shows, which are also being loudly and insistently stopped by their audiences. This time round the unruly, enthusiastic applause leaves performers and producers in a state of ecstatic wilt.

More than a quarter of all current Broadway shows—seven of them—are black. *Porgy and Bess*, returning in the full operatic panoply of George Gershwin's original version (TIM, July 19), has for four straight weeks broken all box-office records for a legitimate Broadway show. The black edition of *Guys and Dolls*, the long-running *The Wiz* (O2 over a different rainbow), and *Bubbling Brown Sugar*, a revue celebrating Harlem in its Cotton Club heyday, are all doing turnaway business. So is *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When the Rainbow Is Enuf*, a "choreopoem" about being black and female that is one of the most poignant dramas to fill a commercial theater in years. More important yet, Broadway's black bonanza has drawn together an array of talent—actors, singers, dancers, writers, choreographers and directors—as well as steadily growing numbers of black theatergoers—who can only enrich popular culture in all its manifestations.

There has never been any shortage of trained, gifted black artists, and television was the first national showcase for many of them. Now the opportunity has expanded in a major way to legitimate theater. Ironically, at a time when

strong parts for women are lamentably lacking in white shows, it is the black actresses, all around 30, who are now sovereign on Broadway.

► **Clamma Dale**, for instance, brings to the role of Bess high musical polish and dramatic intelligence, a voice of molten gold and the fierce grace of a stalking leopard. *Porgy* made her, at 28, an instant star: she is booked for theater, opera and concert appearances through 1978. The youngest child of a middle-class family in Chester, Pa., the incomparable Clamma learned to play the cello, clarinet, piano, saxophone and guitar guided by her father, an oil-re-

REED IN *BUBBLING BROWN SUGAR*



ALBERT & DALE IN *PORGY*
Molten gold and fierce grace.

finery worker and part-time jazz musician. Before winning a Naumburg Foundation Award and a contract with the New York City Opera Company a year ago, Clamma, a Juilliard graduate, taught music and the poetry of Goethe and Schiller to prisoners on New York's Riker's Island. She hopes to play such operatic rolls as Margherita in *Mefistofele* and straight dramatic parts like Nora in *A Doll's House*.

► **Vivian Reed**, a sizzling, sinuous singer-actress-clown-tap dancer, alone turns *Bubbling Brown Sugar* into a mousetrap to remember. She was singing gospel at churches around her native Pittsburgh by the age of eight, and studied classical music at the Pittsburgh Musical Institute before winning a three-year Juilliard scholarship. "I had aspirations of going to the Met and being Leontyne Price," she recalls, "but I switched to popular music and blues because it gave greater freedom of expression and I liked the audience." A veteran of the resort and supper-club circuit, she has a new album, *Brown Sugar* (unrelated to the show), out this month which includes several songs of her own composition.

► **Norma Donaldson** as adenoidal Miss Adelaide, "the well-known fiancée" of *Guys and Dolls*, also steals the show from under the noses of gifted fellow performers. Manhattan-born, she set out to be a nun, but after singing in church choirs and glee clubs opted for show biz instead. She played roles ranging from Georgina in *Hallelujah, Baby!* on Broadway to *Kiss Me Kate* in Beverly, Mass., and *The Great White Hope* in Washington, D.C.

► **Ernestine Jackson** as Sister Sarah, the Salvation Army lass in *Guys and Dolls*, can make Frank Loesser sound like West-side Verdi. From a poor fam-

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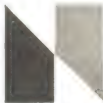
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SHOW BUSINESS

ily in Corpus Christi. Ernestine also won a Juilliard scholarship, got a part in the black *Hello, Dolly!* and went on to *Jessie Christ Superstar* and *Raisin* on Broadway.

► **Trazana Beverley**, one of the seven fervent actress-dancers in *Colored Girls*, so searingly creates a bloody tale of love's savagery that theatergoers sob unabashedly. The daughter of a Baltimore brickmason and a schoolteacher, and a graduate of New York University's School of the Arts, the big, bulky, consummately disciplined actress spent eight long years making it to Broadway.

► **Ntozake Shange**, who wrote *Colored Girls*, and performs in it, is writing two more plays for Joseph Papp, the Public Theater impresario, who nurtured this first effort of hers and brought it to Broadway. The daughter of a wealthy New Jersey surgeon, she earned

MATTHEW WHITE



JACKSON & DONALDSON IN *GUYS Stealing the show.*

a master's degree at the University of Southern California before going off to learn what life and dying (she attempted suicide four times) is like in the ghetto. Shange, *nee* Paulette Williams, has written a new theater piece based on the lives of Alexandre Dumas *père et fils* which will be produced by Papp.

Black women by no means steal all the honors. Donnie Ray Albert portrays Porgy with great dignity and vocal distinction. Robert Guillaume as Nathan Detroit, the compulsive gambler and altar dodger of *Guys and Dolls*, is as wry, spry and dry a dude as ever weathered a floating crap game. However, it is the authority and finely honed theatrical skills of a Dale or a Reed or a Donaldson that succeed in making black passionately beautiful on Broadway.

If Manhattan's theater district has become a Great Black Way, other cities throughout the U.S. have also welcomed and nourished black talent. *Bubbling* broke box-office records in Philadelphia and four other cities. *W2* will open in Chicago this month with one of the biggest advance sales in the city's history.

Some of the liveliest black shows

SHOW BUSINESS

originate out of town. *Me and Bessie*, the play about the great blues singer Bessie Smith, came to New York from California, via Washington, D.C., where the Ford's Theatre's venturesome white executive producer, Frankie Hewitt, played the show for five sold-out weeks. Hewitt's production of Vinette Carroll's *Your Arm's Too Short to Box with God* was a hit for five months at the Ford's, and is set for a Broadway run.

Resident black repertory groups, following the lead of Manhattan's Negro Ensemble Company, the first full-fledged company to use black playwrights and directors exclusively, have found roots in just about every major city. Baltimore's Arena Players, Washington's D.C. Black Repertory Company, Chicago's Kuumba Workshop, New Orleans' DASHIKI Theater have all supported black theater during its difficult transition from the fist-waving polemics of the '60s to a fuller, more relaxed mode today. As DASHIKI's artistic director Ted Gilliam notes: "During the '60s some writers went to great lengths to write what was at the time ideologically in fashion. Now there seems to be a gradual trend toward writers with deep, personal feelings about life, who are expressing those views as they sincerely believe it to be rather than as they think it ought to be, according to someone else's philosophy."

Plug Shows. Despite all the gains, financing remains an Excedrin-proof headache for most would-be black producers. Some black impresarios—notably Melvin Van Peebles with the 1971 *Ain't Supposed to Die a Natural Death*, followed soon after by *Don't Play Us Cheap*—have gone directly to the black community and drafted preachers and teachers to get out the audience and plug shows as if they were the last revival meeting. So, in a way, they are. Between black performers and black audiences, linked by subtle nuances of black language and black experience, there is a crackling communion that often electrifies white audiences as well. There is also the question of black pride. When a white New York critic panned *Wiz*, suggesting that black is not all that beautiful, Harlem's *Amsterdam News* ran an outraged front-page editorial ordering readers to get on down to the Majestic Theater. The crucial Friday night box-office take rose from an anemic pre-pan \$2,500 to \$90,000 the next week and \$120,000 the week after. It has stayed at that level, though the audiences are now about 80% white.

The performers too radiate a new pride. Exults *Bubbling's* Vivian Reed: "We have not only shown that we can make rhythm and blues—something we have been doing for ages—but that we can hold up—light up—Broadway." What is also abundantly clear, to casts and audiences alike, is that excellence transcends color. As Sister Sarah Ernestine Jackson puts it: "If it's good, it's good, black or white."

A Bright New Version

Even before its opening in 1962, the management of Lincoln Center was calling it "the finest musical instrument in America." Philharmonic Hall was indeed something to behold—especially the gold mohair seats and the 136 acoustical clouds designed by Leo L. Beranek to hang from the ceiling and reflect the sound. Alas, the \$17.7 million hall was something else to hear—strident, cold, weak in bass. In succeeding years, a series of four acoustical repair jobs (total cost: \$2.5 million) were made, culminating in the replacement of the entire ceiling in 1969. But to little avail. In 1973, Ili-Fi Magnate Avery Fisher donated \$10 million to keep the place going. Accordingly, Lincoln Center put his name on it, which was just as well. His money was used for the most radical step of all. Starting last May, the hall was gutted and a new interior built.

Last week Avery Fisher Hall was reopened after a \$6.4 million, five-month crash reconstruction job. Said Fisher: "I hope they like it, because I haven't enough money to build another." No worry. The sound of success could be heard both inside and outside the hall. The man responsible was Master Acoustician Cyril M. Harris, 59, who could already boast of the fine sound at the Metropolitan Opera, Washington's (D.C.) Kennedy Center and, most spectacular of all, the two-year-old Orchestra Hall in Minneapolis. Conductor Pierre Boulez was pleased because the 110 men and women of the New York Philharmonic no longer had to force their sound and now could hear each other clearly.

As for the audience, it enjoyed a Brahms and Stravinsky program and a sound of startling clarity and brightness that seemed to leap off the stage. The music did not have the warm mellowness of venerable Carnegie Hall, nor did it seem to have enough bass on the left side of the main floor. But other conductors and orchestras will provide the

ultimate test of those qualities, the cerebral Boulez is not a man for lush sonorities, and the Philharmonic still sounds brasher than most, undoubtedly because of their struggle in the old hall.

The result is a happy ending to one of the great modern scandals in the performing arts. The turning point had come two years earlier, when both the Boston Symphony and Philadelphia Orchestra decided to leave and play their New York concerts in Carnegie. "You can imagine how I felt about that," said Fisher, one of the pioneer manufacturers of sound equipment. The entire inside of the Fisher Hall was gutted. Harris put in 2,742 new seats, with fabric (velvet) and wood (oak) carefully designed to be minimally sound absorbent. All the old seats had been removed; some were given to a fledgling theater group only a few blocks away. The Aeolian-Skinner pipe organ, part of the rear wall, was sold for \$100,000 (original cost \$175,000) to a California church. Virtually everything else was reduced to 9,326 yds. of rubble and shipped off to landfill areas in New York and New Jersey.

Sound Traps. Harris, who is a professor of architecture and electrical engineering at Columbia University, found that the problems with the old hall were not just the clouds and sound-absorbing upholstery, which had disappeared anyway in earlier renovations. The concave walls, designed to improve sight lines, turned out to be traps, forming eddies of sound. Worst of all, the stage and main floor were laid directly on concrete and incapable of resonating properly.

The new design by Harris and Architects Philip Johnson and John Burgee testifies to the perhaps inadvertent wisdom of earlier eras. Everything about the two 19th century concert halls that Harris reveres—Vienna's Grosser Musikvereinsaal and Boston's Symphony Hall—has an optimum effect on the sound pro-

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duced. Like them, the new Fisher Hall is a rectangle (120 ft. from the rear wall to the stage apron, 69 ft. 8 in. between the narrow side balconies). Similarly, the main floor and stage are constructed of wood (darkly stained oak) over an air space, so that they will act as sounding boards. The hall is snugger than before (650,000 cu. ft. v. 850,000), and since any pianissimo needs silence, each air-conditioning duct is lined, and the tightly sealed doors weigh 370 lbs. each. Every piece of plaster and wood is the solidest money can buy.

"There isn't a thing in that building that Cy Harris didn't kick at least once," says Johnson. "If he wanted it heavier, he got it. He was the boss, and my approach from the start was that if anyone was going to be exiled to Argentina in the morning, it was going to be him, not me." Harris is not going anywhere, except in triumph to Salt Lake City and Bombay to work on new concert halls.

Sass and Class

As kids they logged a lot of time in front of the tube watching the late show. Gable, not Dylan, became their hero; *Carousel*, not *Hair*, their fantasy musical. Grown up, their look is zoot-suit city: double-breasted and pin-stripe for the gents, shoulder pads and scarlet lipstick for the lady. The New York quintet call themselves Dr. Buzzard's Original Savannah Band, and their RCA debut LP is this season's breakout disco act. The sound—musical gliss that ripples across five decades and combines Hollywood star dust and big-band elegance with Afro-Cuban cross rhythms.

"Ever watch those old movies?" asks Stony Browder Jr., 28. "Bogart, Garfield—they believed in things. There was music when they walked." Stony, respondent in bow tie, watch chain and beret, writes Savannah's music. He admits it takes him two hours to press the crease in his pants, coordinate his

colors and get his chains together. His pal, "Sugar-Coated" Andy Hernandez, 26, nods. "A lot of people think we dress like this only for performances," says Sugar-Coated, who plays vibes. In the '60s, he explains, society drifted further and further away from his dreams. So he turned the clock backward. While rock musicians continue to play in their undershirts, Sugar-Coated decks out in a three-piece suit and a gray fedora.

Husky Alto. Drawing on pop's musical past, Savannah synthesizes the sounds of yesterday—Count Basie, Hoagy Carmichael, Carmen Miranda—with its own swank brand of soul. Strains of *Whispering* (1920) are grafted onto *Cherchez la Femme*, a disco number bumping along to Mickey Sevilla's sassy drumbeat. A lilting intro evoking Glenn Miller evolves into the hustle smash *I'll Play the Fool*.

Somehow it works. Savannah's zany blend of romance, dress-up and the late late show. The songs are mostly about love. But August Darnell's lyrics, shaped by Singer Cory Daye's sweet husky alto, extend beyond the "boogie down" formula. *Cherchez la Femme* tells the story of a man who takes two jobs to spring his girl from debt, only to have her seek solace elsewhere while he is gone.

Until a recent publicity junket, the closest these New Yorkers ever got to Georgia was a tale-spinning, small-time '40s music man. "Dr. Buzzard, who managed our bands in high school, got us off on Savannah with devilishly decadent stories about his own band days in the South," explains Stony. But Savannah's newly won popularity, bringing with it TV guest appearances and a national tour the first of the year, may even get them to Hollywood. Right now Savannah is hunting for backers so that they can finish a film they have already started. According to Stony, it is a 1940s Dead End Kids musical. Guess who plays the brats.

DR. BUZZARD'S ORIGINAL SAVANNAH BAND: ANDY, STONY, CORY, MICKEY, AUGUST



Died. Eleanor Clay Ford, 80, one of the world's richest women (estimated fortune: between \$100 million and \$200 million); widow of Edsel Ford and mother of Henry Ford II, in Detroit. After her husband's death in 1943, Mrs. Ford forced her father-in-law, Ford Motor Co. Founder Henry Ford, to appoint her eldest son (then only 28) as the firm's new president. At the time, she controlled 54% of the company's voting stock and threatened to sell her shares on the open market if young Henry did not get the job. Strong-willed in private but self-effacing in public, she quietly gave millions of dollars to the symphony, museums and hospitals of her native city.

Died. James A. (Jimmie) Noe, 82, protégé of Huey Long and the tipster behind the investigation that led to the 1939 scandal known as the Louisiana Hayride; of heart disease, in Houston. Appointed Lieutenant Governor of the Pelican State by Long in 1935, he succeeded to the Governor's office the next year, following the death of a Long crony, O.K. Allen. Noe served as Governor for only four months, choosing not to run in the 1936 election. He later turned against the winner, Richard Leche, another Long disciple. Congressman J. Edward Hebert, who was a New Orleans newspaper editor in 1939, finally confirmed last week, after Noe's death, that it was Noe who had leaked to him evidence of Leche's corruption. The scandal resulted in the resignations of Leche and other state officials.

Died. Giacomo Cardinal Leraro, 84, former archbishop of Bologna, regarded by some Vatican watchers in 1963 as a possible successor to Pope John XXIII; in Bologna. As a parish priest in Genoa during World War II, Leraro aided anti-Fascist partisans and refugees. As archbishop of Bologna (1952-68), he organized a group of young priests into the *frati volanti* (flying friars) to speak out at public rallies against the local Communist government. Leraro also supported Vatican II reforms such as the vernacular Mass and argued that the church should end its "cultural colonialism" toward non-Europeans, especially in Africa.

Died. Pedro Sanjuan, 89, conductor, composer and founder of the Havana symphony, following a heart attack; in Washington, D.C. Born in Spain, Sanjuan moved to Cuba in the early 1920s. After establishing the Havana Philharmonic, he led it for nine years, then conducted music in the U.S. and Europe, becoming an American citizen in 1947. His compositions, including *Castilla* and *Utrera Negra*, emphasized the African rhythms inherent in Cuban music.

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The Gothic-Kinetic Merlin of Wild Goose Cottage

If asked to name his profession, Rowland Emmett would probably answer "Fantasticator." No other term could remotely convey the diverse genius of the perky, pink-cheeked Englishman whose pixilations, in cartoon, watercolor and clanking 3-D reality, range from the celebrated Far Tottering and Oyster Creek

EMMETT PUSHES THROUGH HIS WALLPAPER

Railway to the demented thingamabobs that made the 1968 movie *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang* a minuscule classic. It is no wonder that he has been dubbed by admiring Americans the British Rube Goldberg. But that, with all due deference to the late Rube (who was a great admirer of Emmett), is to compare Edward Lear with Ogden Nash or Mozart with Meyerbeer. So says TIM Senior Writer Michael Demarest, who has followed Emmett's career for three decades, and wrote this affectionate portrait of the man and his work.

Last week, as bait for a British trade fair, Emmett's incomparable Forget-Me-Not computer (it does everything but compute) drew wide-eyed throngs to Wanamaker's in Philadelphia. His Exploratory Moon-Probe Lunacycycle MAUD, (Manually Assisted Universal Deviator), complete with Astrocat ("Since cats always land on their feet, she is carried to establish which way up gravity is"), is reverently ensconced in the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum. The Emmett Vintage Car of the Future, dedicated to the Spirit of Future Retrogression, is installed at Chicago's Museum of Science and Industry, and a new suburban Cleveland shopping mall proudly displays his Featherstone-Kite Openwork Basket-Weave Mark Two Gentleman's Flying Machine with its unique autopilot F.R.I.D. (Freeland Remembering Empirical Doodling system). Starting this month, the makers of Wall-Tex wall coverings will bring Emmett's wry whatsits and dotty doodads into the American home with prepacked wallpapers celebrating the inventions he prefers to call Things. Long as they may cling to the wall, they may make many

comfortable notions come unstuck.

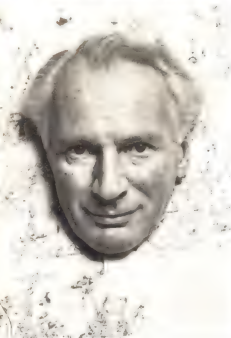
Thingmaker Emmett is that most in-sidious of subversives, a spoofster who makes existential sense. A nostalgic-romantic artist-humorist social commentator-engineer whose furbelows and leathery drawings are familiar to long-time readers of *Punch* and *LIFE*, he is a man with one hand at the controls of Nellie "senior engine" of Far Tottering O.C.R.R., and the other outstretched for hot buttered crumpets on the moon.

Though a satirist, Emmett is a gentle one, with a high regard for human fallibilities and amenities, as well as for cats, birds, butterflies and flowers. What makes the Sussex Merlin all the more remarkable is that he can use a welding torch and glue. With tin, antique door-knobs, hip baths, umbrellas, bicycle parts, lamp shades, stained glass, saucupan lids, Victrola horns, ear trumpets, soup strainers, miles of wicker and wiring, he transforms cartoon fantasies into whispering, whistling, wheezing, whirring, gothic-kinetic machines that work, but mostly play and mock.

Petunia Power. For example, the Forget-Me-Not computer, which will next appear at the Ontario Science Center in Toronto, was financed, with extraordinary largesse, by Honeywell, the for-real computer manufacturer—and is a hilarious sendup of the whole electronic-brain industry. It comes in three parts—"like Henry IV, or whoever it was," according to its creator—all of them visibly risible. It is shaped like an elephant, in accordance, says Emmett, with Livingstone's Law. "Memory may hold the door, but elephants never forget." Among its components are an eey-meeny-miney-mo unit (random selection) and a card-punch system run by electrified woodpeckers.

The Vintage Car, sponsored by Borg-Warner, is equipped with cut-glass liqueur-decanter fog lamps, a crystal ball to predict traffic conditions ahead, a petunia-powered antipollution catalyst and a speedometer that registers from Nought, through Gently, to AWFUL. In fact, Emmett notes, the machine "has a great safety factor: it doesn't move." His Far Tottering Railway was a hot ticket at the 1951 Festival of Britain at which it transported more than 2 million passengers; it is now the puffing pride of Toronto, installed at the Ontario Science Center. The Gentleman's Flying Machine is powered by a Wandering Hot Air Brazier and "a swarm of underslung butterflies providing a trivial lift to the nose section."

Rowland Emmett has had more than trivial genetic lift. His grandfather was Queen Victoria's court engraver, his father an amateur inventor. Emmett himself has put wires together and lines on paper since early childhood. At 13 he devised a novel gramophone windup



VINTAGE CAR OF THE FUTURE



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MODERN LIVING

mechanism—just as gramophones succumbed to electricity. Undeterred, he became a stellar and sometimes lunar cartoonist. During World War II, some equally dotty boffin at the Air Ministry decided from Emmett's complicated cartoons that the artist—a man as mild as Lewis Carroll's Dormouse—should be commandeered to help build nondescript aircraft for the R. A. F.

Emmett, now 70, says he does not want to make any more Things. Even a Hush-a-Bye Hot Air Rocking Chair, with all its crumpled and cushioned comforts, can take months to complete, demand the services of 15 artisans and put his 200-year-old blacksmith's forge on 24-hour duty. The antic Edison of Wild Goose Cottage plans to paint and draw lithographs, wallpaper, cartoons and other whatsis that may yet make Emmettiana an American household word. Mary, his loving wife and canny business brains of 35 years, concurs Emmett will nonetheless retain his wry, sly urge to celebrate and spoof humanity. At the trade fair in Philadelphia last week, an onlooker buttonholed the creator of the Forget-Me-Not computer and demanded: "But what's the end product?" Emmett's considered answer: "To bring the smallest smile to the eye of the beholder."

Uncooperative

Ellen Cooperman, 30, is an ardent feminist. She is a member of the National Organization for Women and runs her own business, producing feminist films in Babylon, a Long Island town 37 miles east of Personhatten, Personhatten? Well, if Ellen had her way.

Three years ago Cooperman decided that she could no longer tolerate the word man in her surname because of its sexist connotations. So she began using the name Cooperperson in her business and private life, explaining that it served as "a consciousness raiser." Soon friends were calling Ellen, who is divorced, and her child Brian (a nine-year-old male person) the Cooperpeople. But when her bank and credit-card companies steadfastly refused to list her as Cooperperson because it was not her legal name, she went to court to legitimize her name change. Her petition stated that Cooperperson "more properly reflects her sense of human equality than does the surname Cooperman."

But New York State Supreme Court Judge John Seileppi has now denied her application because it would "demean the women's movement and expose it to unjustified ridicule" and would "have serious and undesirable repercussions, perhaps throughout the entire country." The precedent, he wrote, might well lead not only to such "ineane" name changes as Manning to Peopling and Carmen to Carpersons, but even to words like mankind becoming personkind. Says Cooperman, who plans to appeal: "I'm all for that."

CINEMA

Elementary Work

THE SEVEN-PERCENT SOLUTION

Directed by HERBERT ROSS

Screenplay by NICHOLAS MEYER

Something is much amiss here, and Sherlock Holmes should be just the man to put it right. Unfortunately, Holmes may be on hand in *The Seven-Percent Solution*, but he is not fully present. He appears quite prominently—gamely played by Nicol Williamson—but the spirit of the master sleuth is nowhere to be found. Instead of pursuing his cus-

port the weight of a full plot. The first has Holmes strung out on cocaine—his dosage is the pun in the title—and railing crazily against his nemesis, Professor Moriarty (Laurence Olivier). Dr. Watson (Robert Duvall) tricks his friend into following Moriarty's trail to Vienna. There they find not the archvillain, but the only man who can possibly save Holmes: Sigmund Freud (Alan Arkin). All this uses up time that might have been better spent drumming up suspense or demonstrating some elementary deduction. When Holmes finally beats his habit and flies off on a new adventure, the entire case is beyond hope.

Director Herbert Ross (*Funny Lady*, *The Sunshine Boys*) is uncertain throughout about whether to play things straight or risk a little satire. Ross made a neat if rather prissy puzzle a few years back called *The Last of Sheila*, but here all clues are obvious, all deductions self-evident. Ross is usually adept with actors too, but in this case, Williamson's Holmes is too wired, even for someone giving up coke, and Duvall's Watson resembles a vaudeville Englishman, all jowls and bluster. This excess is echoed in the accents of Arkin. Vanessa Redgrave (who plays the abducted actress) and Georgia Brown (Frau Freud), who sound as if they are revving up to address a bund rally. Joel Grey also appears, but so briefly that he accents nothing. The ace in this poorly shuffled deck is, no surprise, Olivier. He has not often done comedy onscreen, but his extravagantly funny Moriarty is a creation of wit and invention.

The Seven-Percent Solution puts one wistfully in mind of Billy Wilder's *The*

Private Life of Sherlock Holmes (1970): a lovely, melancholy evocation of the master sleuth. It was a ravishing movie, misunderstood and ignored on its first release. Now should be just the time for another look at it. The movie features portraits of Holmes (by Robert Stephens) and Watson (by Colin Blakely) that are virtually definitive and thoroughly captivating. Director Wilder showed respect for Conan Doyle, without slavish devotion, and managed to make the two sleuths real men even as he dealt with them as myths. Watching *The Seven-Percent Solution*, which tries to do much the same thing, is mostly a reminder of how richly Wilder succeeded.

Jay Cocks



WILLIAMSON & ARKIN IN SOLUTION

A case of missing spirit.

tomary invigorating adventures, Holmes becomes enmeshed in a slack, sorry matter involving anti-Semites, a pasha, an abducted actress, a train race and Dr. Sigmund Freud.

All of this was pretty good fun, at least for a while, in Nicholas Meyer's bestseller, an affectionate if not exactly orthodox salute to Conan Doyle. High spirits and some adept literary parody helped carry along a rather shaky narrative. In the screenplay, however, Meyer is at the mercy of his own dialogue, which sounds too arch, and the same structural problem that hobbled his book.

The Seven-Percent Solution is two stories, neither one sturdy enough to sup-

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LEMMON & BUJOLD IN *GYPSY*

Time to Bail Out

ALEX AND THE *GYPSY*

Directed by JOHN KORTY

Screenplay by LAWRENCE B. MARCUS

Alexander Main is not only well into middle age, he is working his way past it. Like most middle-agers—at least the ones who appear in movies and are usually portrayed, as here, by Jack Lemmon—Alex is disgruntled, angst-ridden, des-

CINEMA

perate and about dead-ended. His life is a crumbling edifice that needs some heavy restoration work. What it gets, instead, is a demolition job in the person of one Maritza (Genevieve Bujold), an aggressively nubile gypsy. You know the type: wild, tough, unconventional, sexy, mystical, earth-spirited—all those things. She also reads palms, tea leaves and the bottoms of feet.

Alex and Maritza meet as she is running out, literally, on her third prospective bridegroom. She jumps into Alexander's car, weeping and yelling, pursued by her dear old dad and other hot-blooded types. "Three times my father sell me," she tells Main. "For good money, you know." Despite these aborted forays into wedlock, Maritza has managed to preserve her integrity as well as her virginity. "I never alone before," she confides in her smoke-cured gypsy accents as she and Alex pull into the Main digs. "Gypsy's family, they stick together. I got no place to go now." Main is enchanted. But then, he is apparently not hard to please.

There is something almost disarming about the banality of *Alex and the Gypsy*. It looks like detritus from the last decade, all full of soured good vibes and cashish notions about freedom of the spirit. Maritza is supposed to represent the wildness that Main longs for, the last chance of his life. From everything Director John Korty (*The Autobiography*

of Miss Jane Pittman) and Writer Lawrence Marcus (*Petulia*) show us, she is as liberating as Lucrezia Borgia. Maritza gobbles fruit and chats about Django Reinhardt while Alex makes love to her; she also has a hard time staying out of jail for assaulting another bedmate. No prize himself, Alex is ever aware of his paramour's wanderlust; during bouts of passion, he keeps her handcuffed to the bedstead.

Hard Dollar. It is not simply that Alex is a fool for punishment. He makes his living from it. He pulls down a hard dollar as a bail bondsman and indulges in much gruff whimsy during working hours. "What's the good word?" a gangster client asks him innocently. Alex pounces: "Sunset is a good word. Pretzel is a good word." At last, the gypsy stirring in her soul. Maritza jumps the bail that Alex has posted for her assault rap and heads for Mazatlán in a private plane, accompanied by a rich gent with a lickish eye. Alex, who has spent most of the movie trying to keep Maritza under both bond and bondage, decides that like other wild creatures—Jonathan Livingston Seagull, for instance—she must roam free. He encourages, even effects her escape. As she flies off into the sun, Alex stands at the side of the runway, bare-chested, waving his orange gypsy shirt like a wind-up Zorba, vowing to follow her. They deserve each other. J.C.

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Paul Masson



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